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1900

WILLIAM CONYNGHAM PLUNKET

FOURTH BARON PLUNKET

AND

SIXTY-FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN

A MEMOIR

BY

FREDERICK DOUGLAS HOW

AUTHOR OF "BISHOP WALSHAM HOW: A MEMOIR"
"BISHOP JOHN SELWYN: A MEMOIR" ETC.

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PREFACE

IT is usually thought well that a biography should be brought out with as little delay as possible.

It is not, however, altogether to be regretted that this book will not be published until nearly four years after the Archbishop's death.

During that time it is surely not too much to hope that the party bitterness which was called out by some of his best known work may have given place to a calmer judgment and more charitable spirit.

I have ventured to separate some of the larger subjects—*e.g.* Education, the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, &c. My reason for doing so is that reference may thus be more easily made to any special portion of the History of the Irish Church at this most important period.

I have received a great deal of valuable help, and my only regret is that, in spite of this, I have not done fuller justice to the portrait of one of the noblest and most lovable of Irishmen.

I cannot adequately express my gratitude for the assistance given me by some of the late Archbishop's

immediate relatives; but I also wish to thank most heartily Lord James of Hereford, the Bishop of Clogher, Sir Frederick Falkiner, the Archdeacon of Dublin, Principal Moore, Canon Venables, Canon Meyrick, Professor Mayor, Dr. Noyes, Rev. J. Jennings, Rev. Samuel Prenter, Rev. Rowland Scriven, and Rev. T. Pulvertaft.

F. D. H.

July 1900.

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CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD

IN an unpretentious house, No. 30 Upper Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin, a son and heir was born to the Hon. John Plunket, Q.C., on August 26, 1828. There were two elder children, both daughters, and this boy was named William Conyngham after his grandfather, the first Baron Plunket, of Newton in the county of Cork, Lord Chancellor of Ireland and peer of the United Kingdom. This child was destined to become Archbishop of Dublin and to succeed to the barony.

If the surroundings of his birth were in no way luxurious, for his father's income at that time allowed no margin for the usual accessories of rank, a glance at the family history shows that his ancestry on both sides was decidedly out of the common.

In a certain sense his grandfather, the first lord, was a self-made man, being the son of a dissenting minister, but in *O'Hart's Pedigrees* a claim is made (as in the case of so many Irish families) that the Plunkets descend from Brian Boroimhe (Brian Boroo), 175th monarch of Ireland. As a matter of fact, it seems clear that all the Plunkets sprang from a John Plunket, who was seated about the close of the eleventh century at Bewley, or Beaulieu, Co. Louth,

so that, even if the royal descent be somewhat indistinct in the hazy distance of the centuries, a long and honourable line is assured.

But it is in the ancestry of his mother that so many great and historical names are found. This lady was Charlotte, third daughter of the Right Honourable Charles Kendal Bushe, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland. Her mother was Anne, one of the Cramptons and a descendant of John of Gaunt through his daughter Joan Beaufort,who married Ralph Nevill, first Earl of Westmoreland; one of her descendants, Dorothy Nevill, married Thomas, Earl of Exeter, eldest son of Cecil, Lord Burghley; and their granddaughter married the second Viscount Saye and Sele, whose granddaughter, Charlotte Twistleton, married John Crampton and became grandmother of Anne, Lady Bushe.

Thus, too, the illustrious name of William of Wykeham is found in the history of Lord Plunket's ancestors, for a sister of this famous bishop was great-grandmother of William Wykeham (otherwise Perrot), whose daughter married the second Baron Saye and Sele, old patent, who was slain at the battle of Barnet in 1471, and was a forefather of the Viscount Saye and Sele mentioned above.

With this slight reference to the extremely interesting history of his progenitors, it is necessary to pass to those who were more immediately connected with the subject of this memoir, and from whom he inherited many marked characteristics of both mind and person.

"The old lord," as he was commonly called in the family—*i.e.*, the Lord Chancellor—was a truly remark-

able man. Ambitious, to some extent domineering, and possessing a hasty temper not always under control, he was a great orator,* a fine classical scholar of the old school, and a man of great determination. He was badly treated by the Whigs in 1841, who removed him from the Chancellorship of Ireland to make room for Lord Campbell, who sat for precisely one day. Lord Plunket retired in high dudgeon to his country seat, Old Connaught, near Bray, and burnt all his papers, which included many important historical documents. After this his health soon began to fail and his vigour of mind to decline. During these years of retirement William Plunket, the future Archbishop, who was his eldest grandson and his godson, was a good deal at Old Connaught, and a great favourite with the old lord. Part of his holidays was invariably spent there, and the two would sit for hours capping one another's quotations. The old lord had a wonderful memory, and it only required a quotation, or an allusion to some of his favourite authors, to roll back the mist that was beginning to gather

* *Cf.* Trevelyan's "Life of Lord Macaulay" (vol. i. p. 172), *à propos* of Macaulay's first speech on Reform: "The names of Fox, Burke, and Canning were during that evening in everybody's mouth; and Macaulay overheard with delight a knot of old members illustrating their criticisms by recollections of Lord Plunket. He had reason to be pleased; for he had been thought worthy of the compliment which the judgment of Parliament reserves for a supreme occasion. In 1866, on the second reading of the Franchise Bill, when the crowning oration of that memorable debate had come to its close amidst a tempest of applause, one or two of the veterans of the lobby, forgetting Macaulay on Reform—forgetting, it may be, Mr. Gladstone himself on the Conservative Budget of 1852—pronounced amid the willing consent of a younger generation that there had been nothing like it since Plunket."

over his memory and to reveal the treasures that were stored therein.

Some of the family still vividly remember such a scene. There was the old gentleman in his accustomed armchair in the library, and the young grandson sitting with a large volume of the classics upon his knee, out of which he had begun to read some favourite ode. A few lines were sufficient to fire the old scholar and orator's brain, and he took up page after page of sonorous Latin delivered in that magical voice which had commanded listening senates, and which kept even his little granddaughter, who was in the room, spellbound by the beauty of the sound alone, for the words must have had no meaning to her childish ears. Again, at other times he would recite long passages from Milton and from Shakespeare ; and no more sympathetic listener could he have found than his grandson William. It will thus be seen that the future archbishop had many opportunities of imbibing some of the mental qualities of his famous grandfather.

In connection with the Lord Chancellor, an amusing story must not be omitted. One of the proudest memories of Old Connaught House is the visit paid to it by Sir Walter Scott, and a bust of the famous poet-novelist has for many years occupied a prominent position there in honour of the event. The story goes that during this visit to the old lord Sir Walter and a large party from the house paid a visit to the ruins of the Seven Churches at Glendalough, Co. Wicklow. One of the most interesting spots is a cave in the mountain side, commonly called "St. Kevin's Bed." No visitor to the Seven Churches fails to visit this

"sacred" place. The cave is very difficult to reach, and Sir Walter obtained the assistance of an old peasant woman to drag him up from the shore of the lake to the platform of rock from which the cave is entered. On returning to the boat the Lord Chancellor asked the old woman if she knew how great a man she had been assisting. "He is Sir Walter Scott, the illustrious poet," said he. "Begorra, your honour," she replied, "he's no poet; he's a gentleman born and bred—for, by all that's holy, hasn't he left in my hand a piece of silver?"

But it was from his mother's side that he gained his best-known characteristics. Of his maternal grandfather, Chief Justice Bushe, it is recorded that he was a delightful companion and a notable *raconteur*, besides being an eminent judge. Of all these qualities William Plunket inherited a large share, but it was his mother herself, of whom there is more to be said hereafter, whom he most closely resembled both in feature and character.

His father, the Hon. John Plunket, was a man of less ability than either the old lord or the future archbishop. But for all that, the latter owed much of his simple, generous disposition, his hatred of injustice, and quiet tenacity of purpose, to his father's example. John Plunket, it is said, may best be described as a high-minded gentleman in the most literal sense of the word. His tender-hearted benevolence sprang from a kindliness of heart untainted by the least leaven of ostentation or worldly wisdom. He ever possessed a childlike faith in his Heavenly Father's goodness and wisdom, and from this sprang the pure river of charity.

But he was not only gentle; he was also a thorough *man*, and as much respected as he was beloved. He had a hot hatred of meanness or petty wrong, and a determination to do what he considered right which often won its way more surely than any more self-assertive or turbulent spirit could have done. He was an able and hard-working lawyer, and held for many years the post of county court judge—assistant barrister, as it was then called—and also that of Crown prosecutor on the Munster circuit and in the Recorder's Court. In society he was greatly appreciated, for no one could be five minutes in the company of that gentle unobtrusive man without being charmed by his play of feature, his wealth of humour, his quaint and original expressions, and the fun he took and helped others to take in everything. But it was not often that he could be drawn into the vortex of Dublin society, with its many wits and orators of that day. He sought his pleasures in his home. He could never even be persuaded to join any club, but hurried back from sessions, circuit, or the Four Courts, as the case might be, to the delights of his family circle.

This was no matter of surprise to those who were acquainted with the lady whom he made his wife. As he used to be fond of telling, he wooed and won her from the schoolroom, and they were married as soon as she was eighteen. Here is her description, from the pen of a member of the family:

"She was a beautiful, tall, fresh, Hebe-like girl, the striking features of her face being the well-shaped brows and large blue eyes with heavy lids, which her son the Archbishop inherited. Innocence, intelligence, and sweetness were written in every line

of her countenance; but even her ardent lover can scarcely have imagined in his rosiest dreams the worth of the prize that he had won, or guessed the strength of the pure soul that lay beneath that shy and feminine exterior. . . . The words that seem most fitly to describe the spirit which ever filled her heart are to be found in her favourite passage from the Bible ('Charity suffereth long and is kind,' &c.), which she taught to all her children as soon as they could speak. Charity flooded her thoughts, her looks, her gestures, her words and deeds—and will not all who knew him acknowledge the reflection of the same all-pervading spirit in her dearly beloved son?"

This strong feeling of charity towards others pervaded William Plunket's whole life. His son, the present Lord Plunket, in writing upon this subject, says:

"He hated to hear evil imputed to others, and whenever unkind or careless words were spoken about other people we always wished we could stop the speaker, as we knew how they were hurting my father. He had an unconscious trick of saying, 'Hum, hum, hum,' when something was said which he did not like, and this was always the signal to try to change the conversation. It was not that he disliked fair criticism, but only such words as he thought were not worthy."

But he inherited also much of his sense of humour and joyous disposition from his mother. A few lines written by him long afterwards in the course of a letter to her, are the best possible proof of this:

"Who taught the eldest of her sons
To make innumerable puns—
Sometimes, alas! most wretched ones?
My mother!

"Who makes a play on every word,
And cracks good jokes, the most absurd,

And yet the best I ever heard?
My mother!"

With such a father and such a mother at its head, it is small wonder that the home in Upper Fitzwilliam Street is described as ideally happy. No less than fourteen children were born to them, eight daughters and six sons; and the fact of there being so many to share in the love and happiness of the home seemed, as it so often does, to call forth an unusual amount of the spirit of unity and unselfishness.

Of this large family, William Conyngham Plunket was, as has been already stated, the third child and eldest son. His father's elder brother, the Bishop of Tuam, had no sons, so that the birth of this boy was important as supplying the heir to the peerage. On this account doubtless the sponsors at his baptism were his two grandfathers, the Right Hon. Lord Plunket, then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Right Hon. Charles Kendal Bushe, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. In appearance he was highly favoured by nature. A slight, upright child, with good physique and a handsome face, he had those large Irish blue eyes which, combined with dark hair, eyebrows and eyelashes, and a fair skin, were always the most striking features in his appearance. His neck was long and slender, and his limbs were beautifully proportioned, as was noticed by a portrait painter, who took special measurements of them. He was the handsomest of a handsome family, inheriting the good looks of both sides of his ancestry, and in addition was possessed of a voice which, even in conversation, was of great beauty and constituted no small part of his

personal charm. Long years afterwards, when a former Duke of Marlborough was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he preached a sermon before the Duke and Duchess in St. Patrick's Cathedral, on which occasion the latter was overheard to remark, "What a handsome man; and no brogue!"

The mental and spiritual characteristics which distinguished him to the end of his life were strongly marked in his earliest childhood. From the first he showed deep religious feeling, expression of which is discovered in letters to his sisters, written while still a boy; and there was also early evidence of the active talented brain, unselfish tender heart, and happy genial temperament, which found joy in everything and was not satisfied until it had shared that joy with others.

Very few reminiscences of his childhood exist, but it is vividly remembered how nearly he lost his life when a mere baby boy of three or four years old. He had been left in his mother's room upstairs in the high Dublin house, and utilised his liberty to climb out on to the window-sill. There was only one low iron bar between him and the street below. Fortunately, one of the opposite neighbours caught sight of the little fellow, and sent across a message at once. The danger was lest anyone suddenly entering the room should startle the child, in which case he would inevitably have overbalanced himself and been dashed to pieces on the pavement below. It was thought best for his nurse to slip into the room as if she did not know he was there. This she did, and quietly placed one of his favourite toys within his sight, pretending to have some other business in the room. The ruse

was entirely successful. The little chap climbed back into the room as easily as he had climbed out, and the terrible danger was past.

This nurse was a great family institution, and no picture of the home would be complete without some reference to her. She was one of the old-fashioned kind, whose interests were bound up in the family she served, and who gave her whole heart with all its wealth of love to the children whom she nursed, and in whom she took as much pride as if they were her own. Nurse Lynch entered the family shortly after William's birth, and remained with them until her death more than thirty years afterwards; and there can be no doubt that the future archbishop owed much to her early care and training, while a very warm affection existed to the end between herself and "Master Willie."

There was yet another figure constantly to be found in that happy home, to whom special reference must be made. Chief Justice Bushe passed away before his daughter had long been married to Mr. Plunket, but his widow survived him for many years, and during that time spent most of her summers with her daughter and grandchildren. When the time came round for the selection of a house in the country or at the sea, where the annual holiday might be spent, nothing was suitable unless it contained a pleasant room for "grandmamma," and that room was invariably the favourite resort of all, whether members of the family or visitors. One of her granddaughters writes:

"She was the sister of the renowned Sir Philip Crampton, who, besides his eminence in the medical profession, was one

of the best *raconteurs* and most brilliantly agreeable men of his day. His sister was a sweet feminine *repliquée* of him. . . . We remember her as the most honoured and welcome guest in our home, popular with old and young, clever and simple; all were eager to enjoy her society, and to listen to the inexhaustible stores of anecdote and witty stories which she related with genuine dramatic power. She had lived through thrilling times in Ireland. The rebellion of '98, the closing scenes in the Irish Houses of Lords and Commons, were all fresh in her memory, as were also the men of that time—Grattan, Curran, Shiel, Emmet, and a crowd of others. Nor should be forgotten her descriptions of the celebrated Kilkenny amateur theatricals, in which some of her own children had taken a part. All these form pictures like magic-lantern slides in our memories, appearing and disappearing and melting into one another. But most deep of all impressions on our hearts is the remembrance of her goodness and unselfishness, her keen sympathy in all our childish pleasures as well as in our highest aspirations, her wise advice so tenderly given, her hearty praise and encouraging smiles. Bright as yesterday is the picture in our minds of that slight frail figure and pale sweet face, which expressed so convincingly a sense of that peace which passeth all understanding."

Truly William Plunket was blessed in the good women by whom his youth was surrounded.

The Kilkenny plays to which allusion is made above were famous in the eighteenth century, and were as a matter of fact largely kept up by the Bushe family. This dramatic instinct was fully inherited by the Plunkets, and William was one of the most gifted of all in this direction. His sisters remember how when quite a boy he would recite and even improvise poems for them, while charades and impromptu plays were a recognised and frequent part of most evenings'

entertainment. There was a back drawing-room at 30 Upper Fitzwilliam Street, and this was turned into a theatre, where night after night every kind of dramatic performance, from Indian tableaux to Shakespeare's plays, was to be seen. Audience or no audience, it did not matter. When the scene was ready the folding doors were thrown open, and such elders as were present turned sympathetically from their books or work to make a "house." A pretty story is told of "little Willie" when he was a very small child indeed. One of these dramatic performances was about to begin when he ran into the room and brought to his grandmother a small piece of bright red ribbon. "What is this for?" she asked. "To look grand in the audience," said the little fellow. The "audience" consisted solely of his mother and grandmother, but that did not matter. He thought how he could please and adorn them for the occasion. One of the surviving daughters of that family relates how often they heard their mother say that when those folding doors were opened she trembled at what might be revealed. More than once her best bonnet or smartest mantle had been drawn into the vortex of stage properties, and on one occasion, just after the room had been newly carpeted, when an Indian camp was being represented, her horror may be imagined on seeing that a fire had been lighted on a dust-pan (laid in the centre of the stage upon the new carpet), round which the whole company were dancing preparatory to stamping out the fire with their moccasins!

The most ambitious effort recorded of these theatrical entertainments was a performance of three acts of

"Julius Cæsar," on which occasion William Plunket took the part of Brutus. Rather an amusing story is told of a certain incident in the course of the play. It occurred at the point where Brutus calls for a bowl of wine to celebrate his newly cemented friendship with Cassius. A delightful brew of negus had been prepared for this purpose, but a son of Chief Justice Doherty, who was among the audience and was a noted wag, slipped behind the scenes, drank the negus, and replaced it with warm water. It is reported that Brutus drank off the mawkish stuff and retained his dignity wonderfully well in spite of the disappointment.

In all probability this practice of acting and reciting even before small audiences was of great advantage in giving to the future archbishop that ease of manner and absence of nervousness in public speaking which he afterwards enjoyed.

There was another art besides that of acting which he inherited from his Bushe ancestors. When quite a lad he would sit down at the piano and improvise in a manner as charming as it was remarkable. There was one operetta composed by him when very young which was a special favourite of his sisters. It was a battle scene, and began with the spirited march, trumpets blowing and drums beating. Then there was the general's speech to the soldiers, the clash and din of battle, and the song of triumph. Next followed the pathetic scenes on the field after the battle: the moans of the wounded, the cries of the mothers and widows searching for sons and husbands who were not, and the solemn funeral march. It was a remarkable

performance for a boy, and was done entirely by ear, for, strange to say, he could not read music. All through his life he was fond of writing words and setting them to his own music, and, though it refers to a date long after his boyhood, it may not be out of place to give here some lines which he sang to a tune of his own, and which, as *he* could sing them, were never listened to by anyone unmoved. The words were composed in 1855, and are these:

"Take this pardon, I have sought it
With my tears in dark Gethsemane:
Take this pardon, I have bought it
With my Blood on Calvary.
When upon the Cross ye nailed me,
And the powers of hell assailed me,
When it seemed that God Himself had failed me,
Then I bought it with my Blood for thee!
Take this pardon, I have bought it;
Sinner, oh! refuse it not from me!"

In this connection some words written since his death by one of his daughters have an especial interest:

"My father was very fond of music—Handel, Beethoven, Schubert; but Mendelssohn was his favourite composer, and he seemed never tired of hearing the *Lieder ohne Worte*. I think he was particularly fond of melody in music, and some ancient Irish airs which I played he very often asked for. He had a perfect ear, and detected discord at once. . . . He had a delightful touch on the piano, and, though latterly he did play from written music, he would improvise on the piano, playing different airs and wandering on from one thing to another in a most delightful way. I think he had a peculiar gift for making the same air sound perfectly differently according to the way in which he played it. I have heard him play

'The Banks of Allan Water' first as the gayest of airs, and a second time as sad and pathetic beyond words. Of course, he never played with the idea of being listened to, but he would often sit down to the piano when he had a few minutes to spare, perhaps while waiting for the ladies to come down to dinner, or when the game of whist was over and it was not yet quite time for evening prayers. He had no sympathy for the Wagner rage, though he immensely admired some of the melodies in the Wagner operas."

From the above it appears that later in life the Archbishop learnt to play from notes, though, with the number of important matters which crowded his life, it is wonderful how he found time to acquire the knowledge.

But to return to his boyhood. There was one other occupation, besides acting and music, of which he was very fond. This was the constructing of various small pieces of mechanism. In these labours his younger brothers and sisters were allowed to help, and many happy days are remembered which were spent in the manufacture of a wonderful clock that was to go by sand or water. There were large wheels and small wheels, cogs and pulleys and nuts, and all went well for a time; but the end of those particular holidays came all too soon, and this work was one of the very few things that William Plunket ever set himself to do and did not accomplish. This tenacity of purpose was a direct inheritance from the old Lord Chancellor, and stood the grandson in good stead many a time in after life.

CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE

WILLIAM PLUNKET'S earliest lessons were learnt at his mother's knee. When he was able to read nicely he went for a time to a day school in Dublin, and afterwards to a preparatory school near Liverpool, of which Mr. Rawson was headmaster. Here he just missed being a schoolfellow of Mr. Gladstone, who had left a short time before he arrived there. It may be noticed here that in after life the Archbishop was rather proud of a supposed likeness in feature (especially about the nose) to Mr. Gladstone; but the resemblance in looks, so far as it existed, was certainly more flattering to the statesman than to the ecclesiastic, who was one of the handsomest men of his day.

It is generally the case that a child coming from the surroundings of a large family circle is better equipped for school life than others, having already learnt something of the give and take which it is necessary to practise if the first year at school is to be tolerable. At the same time, the greater the happiness of the home, the greater must be the wrench which accompanies a first parting, and the greater the loneliness with which the little "new boy" is oppressed even in the noisiest schoolroom. It was so with William

Plunket, and his sisters remember well his first heart-broken letter to his mother, begging to be taken home at once. His natural cheerfulness, however, seems to have asserted itself even before he had finished writing, for the letter ends with a suggestion that a tuck box should be despatched to him forthwith. This incident recalls the well-known "schoolboy's letter," in which the writer, after informing his parents of his misery and his opinion that he had got consumption, goes on to say, "I do not think I shall last long; please send me some more money."

While at Mr. Rawson's school he had a second narrow escape of losing his life. He was bathing with several schoolfellows in apparently shallow water, before any of them had learnt to swim. Unfortunately, while the tide was out a large quantity of sand had been dug out from one place, leaving a deep hole. Into this the little fellows unsuspectingly plunged; and while several of them, including William Plunket, were quite insensible when rescued, Mr. Rawson's own son was unhappily drowned. A curious little story is told by one of the family in connection with this event. It is given here, as it will be of some interest to those occupied in psychological research.

"We were spending that summer at the sea-side, and it was a curious coincidence that the morning after the accident, and before any tidings of it could by any possibility have reached us, Nurse Lynch came into our room in great agitation and told us that in the night or very early morning she had heard Master Willie calling from the sea in great terror, 'I'm drowning! I'm drowning! Oh! save me, save me!'"

The sensations of his early childhood, including

those of his first days at school, are told in a remarkable rhyming letter written in 1848, when he was away on a visit to some relations. The subject of this letter is his mother, each verse ending with the refrain

". . . somehow or other,
No other boy had such a mother,"

or words to that effect. A part of this letter must find a place here; some further stanzas it may be necessary to quote in illustration of later events in his life. The verses referring to his earlier days run as follows:

". . . All that night
These words were ringing
And dinging
Right through my head;
So that after I went to bed,
Like some quaint dream in my puzzled brain,
Old days came back again,
And all to the song of 'Somehow or other,
No family has got such a mother.'

"I thought myself a little chap,
With my book upon my mother's lap,
Trying to spell
My 'Bagatelle,'
And learning a good pronunciation,
And getting on so fast
The verb *recevoir* was almost past;
And why was this? Why not, like any other brat,
Did I not wait till I went to school,
And then from Monsieur 'This' or 'That'
Learn the hard rule
And harder explanation?

It was because, somehow or other,
No 'other brat' had such a mother!

"And still, like a dream in the puzzled brain,
Old days come back again;
And the little chap a boy had grown,
And crying and alone
Was wandering through the dreary fields
That surround the school where Rawson wields
His stubborn rule:
Away from the sneers of prying boys,
With their uncongenial noise,
That boy had turned to cry,
For his heart was well-nigh ready to burst
With misery!
It was for him the first
Sad time that home was left;
He felt as if of all bereft,
And why was this? Were there not some
Who too had for the first time left *their* home?
They did not seem to care so much,
And it was because they had not such
A home to leave. Somehow or other,
None of them had so good a mother!"

There can be no doubt of William Plunket's devotion to his home and to his mother, and no doubt of the severity of the attack of home-sickness, the misery of which was so keenly remembered years afterwards when the above lines were written.

After leaving Mr. Rawson's school he was sent to Cheltenham College, which had recently been opened, and of which he was one of the earliest members. Here he began at once to show the intellectual vigour which he possessed, and which he inherited from his

two grandfathers. Both in classics and mathematics he made brilliant progress until, when he was about seventeen years old, the great catastrophe of his life occurred, and he completely broke down in health. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the masters, of whom Dr. Dobson was then the head, were partly to blame. It was a great temptation. The school was on its trial. Parents all over the country were watching to see what sort of results would be obtained. Here was an opportunity of turning out a really brilliant scholar, and there can be little doubt that they overworked him. He was keen about games as well as work, especially about cricket, in which he delighted to join to the end of his life whenever he got a chance of a game with his sons and daughters, taking off his coat and running with the best of them. It was not that he neglected taking exercise, or anything of that sort—he was never the least bit of a muff—but the pressure put upon him as a growing lad to make him a brilliant scholar proved too much for him, and he completely broke down with a nervous complaint which incapacitated him for some years.

Thus, at a time when most men whose lives are worth recording are just entering upon their final studies, or even beginning their careers, he was an invalid, subject to violent palpitations and other distressing symptoms of his complaint. The doctors were fortunately able to assure his relatives that there was nothing organically wrong with his heart, or indeed with any of his organs, and they held out hopes of his ultimate recovery—hopes which were entirely justified, for when, after

some ten years, he regained his health, the old complaint had left him never to return.

But this is anticipating. Of his Cheltenham days few records are forthcoming. Some stanzas of the rhyming letter from which quotations have already been made refer to this period, and are worth quoting here.

"Still in the puzzled dreamy brain
Old days return again:
The boy into a lad hath sprouted,
And he with others is going to part
From Baxter's den—and all so glad about it!
The packet is just about to start,
And it's little they care about the weather
(Though indeed they would stay
From school another day
In such a storm
Just to see whether
The next day it might die away).
But tell me why that single boy
Seems to feel more ecstatic joy
Than all the others put together,
Except, indeed, his brother;—
I had forgot there was another,
And did not think of him at all,
But then you know he's very small—
Well, why are both of them so gay?
Is it because in one more day
They will be able
To 'soak' in bed a little longer,
And have their tea a little stronger?
Just think of that: how comfortable!
And then when they get up in the morning
The breakfast hour scorning,
Instead of breaking the ice in their jug

To stand upon a cosy rug
Before a roasting fire,
And ring the bell for Tom
(That's Tom the Crier*),
And say like an independent man
'Hot water, Thomas, as quick as you can.'
What pleasant commands
To give when the hands
Have been for some time raw and chappy!
Is this the reason they are happy?—
The only reason?—Why, the rest
With the same luxuries are blest,
And they don't seem to care *so* much.
Oh no! They have not such
A really happy home;
Somehow or other,
They are not blest with such a mother!

In these doggerel lines there is a suggestion that Cheltenham boys had to rough it a little in the early days of the school's existence, but this did not hurt William Plunket. A cousin of his, a few years his junior, who lived in Cheltenham at that time, tells of his coming with her own brothers to their house on half holidays, and describes him as "a chubby-faced boy brimming over with life and spirits, but never rough or mischievous, with a bright colour in his cheeks," and then goes to speak of the sad change which was caused by his illness, and which completely altered his whole life.

Lord James of Hereford has most kindly supplied the following valuable sketch of William Plunket from a schoolfellow's point of view:

"Cheltenham College commenced its existence in 1841,

* The family man-servant.

and in 1842 William Conyngham Plunket joined it. At this time many Irish boys bearing well-known names were at the school. Of the Plunket family not only William, but his younger brother Charles, his two cousins, Arthur and Percy Bushe, grandsons of the Chief Justice, and another cousin, George Doherty, a son also of a Chief Justice, were Cheltonians. Coghill, afterwards Sir John Joscelyn Coghill, who married a sister of the Plunkets, was also there.

"Although I was not in the same class or boarding-house as William Plunket, he attracted me greatly. We had not much in common. He was sedate and studious in habit, and so took a high position in the first form of the College, whilst I found prominence principally in the cricket-field. There, however, I often had much talk with him. He tried hard to become a cricketer, and I, as captain, used to put him in the matches between two elevens of the school, but he was never very successful. But he had much to tell that interested me vastly. Even in those early days I was somewhat of a politician, and I had read of Lord Plunket's fame as an orator, and of his treatment by the Government of Lord Melbourne. The Chancellor's deprivation of office in favour of Lord Campbell was often referred to by his grandson in tones of burning indignation.

"No doubt this connection gave William Plunket prominence in my estimation, but I was chiefly attracted to him by the peculiarly high tone of character that pervaded him. He was almost stately of manner, and his language and bearing were always beyond reproach. No coarse word ever passed his lips, and, though he was full of humour and lightness of heart, yet no breach of school discipline could ever be suggested against him. As he was known in later life, so he was as a schoolboy.

* * * * *

"The last time I met Lord Plunket was when he officiated at the opening of the Cheltenham College Chapel, and had, as an old Cheltonian, spoken from the pulpit to the very hearts of present Cheltonians. At the gathering which occurred

after the ceremony I, as President of the College Council, had to thank Lord Plunket for his presence and his sermon. I could then truly say that we were all proud of the old Cheltonian whose life had been well spent, whose duty had been well done, and whose honours had been well gained. And then within that old familiar playground, where more than fifty years ago we had played cricket together, our last words of farewell were spoken."

One of William Plunket's feats while a boy at Cheltenham was the helping to start the first College newspaper. It was called the *The Cheltenham Tirocinia*, and he was the first editor. In those days there were no cricket or football matches to chronicle, no gymnasium competitions, or other matters of the kind, and it was a far more severe task to edit a school magazine than it is at the present day. After the publication of the first number (as says a writer in the *Cheltonian* for June 1889) "his school career, so full of brilliant promise, was suddenly arrested by a mysterious illness, to the grief of us who loved him for his frank, generous nature, his joyous spirits and high thoughts, and the second number was brought out by other hands."

This second number contained two poems from his pen, signed " U. U. P.," under which initials he wrote in his youth. Both poems concerned the Irish famine, and the last stanza of one of them is quoted later on.

The school, having as yet no chapel of their own, always attended the services at Christ Church, Cheltenham, where Mr. Boyd, afterwards Dean of Exeter, was the clergyman. The Rev. F. Robertson also officiated at the same church, and the striking sermons which he heard from both these preachers seem to

have made a great impression upon young Plunket. Another notable Evangelical under whose influence he came at this time was Mr. Close, Rector of Cheltenham, and afterwards Dean of Carlisle. There is no doubt that he had always been a singularly religious-minded boy, and when, before he left school, his illness laid him aside, he turned naturally to the highest sources of help and comfort. The same cousin referred to above remembers that before he left Cheltenham he gave to her and to each of her young sisters some little devotional books which he told them had been of great service to himself.

The spirit in which he met this trouble, which to a keen, successful boy just entering upon life must have been terribly hard to bear, is shown by some lines which he wrote on board the packet which was taking him home. It is not necessary to quote more than the last verse:

"Thus let the man reflect who braves
Adversity's opposing waves:
Short stay on earth to man is given
His home, his resting-place, is heaven!
Let him like thee, my gallant bark,
Undaunted stem life's waters dark,
Nor fear the foam
Nor the billow's roar
That bears him home
To the heavenly shore!"

Then followed the long years of illness. He became very weak, and was for some time unable to move from his armchair, except when this was exchanged for a bath-chair in which he would be pulled about. Even

after this prostration had been overcome, and he was able to take more exercise, a member of the family would always be with him, as it was uncertain when one of the distressing nervous attacks might seize him. At first sight it seems a grievous pity that he should have thus been laid aside when the promise of boyhood was on the point of fulfilment, when he had hoped for a brilliant career at Cambridge, and when his contemporaries must needs leave him far behind in the race. It would be absurd to say that he lost nothing. For years he could not open a book for purposes of real study. Probably his memory never thoroughly recovered the strain of this long illness. He used to say in later days, "I never read books, because I can't remember anything," which, though spoken partly in jest, was also partly the truth.

His Cheltenham education had certain results which lasted all his life. His classical studies probably accounted for his extreme fastidiousness in English composition. He delighted in polishing and amending his own compositions and those of his chaplains and secretaries, and he would sometimes delay the publication of important matter that he might do this.

The mathematics he had learnt also had their influence, for he enjoyed "accounts," finding them no trouble whatever. But beyond this he was a case of "arrested educational development," a matter for profound regret.

It was doubtless owing to this that, as says a former chaplain and secretary to the Archbishop,

"he lived in the present more thoroughly than any man I ever knew. He was, on the one hand, wholly devoid of the

historical sense (as many able men are), and had little reverence for the past (in which he may be compared to the old Lord Plunket, who burnt all his papers, including many historical documents): on the other hand, he openly said that his policy was to let the future take care of itself, and this in spite of his accomplishing work (notably in education) which will last."

There were, however, compensations in his surroundings. The whole atmosphere in which the invalid lad lived was so delightful and so cultured. It has been shown what parents he had, but it was not only to them that he was indebted at this time. His sisters, both older and younger than himself, were most of them brilliant. The Bushes as a family are conversationalists of special powers, and so, says the same chronicler, "as an invalid William must have lived in a pleasant atmosphere, surrounded by much love and gentle care, by music and good talk." But all the same the loss was great. Cambridge had to be given up. The political career for which he had been intended was abandoned. And yet, by the mercy of God, this period of weakness and suffering proved one of manifest growth in grace, and when health was given him once more his thoughts were centred upon higher things than earthly politics, and he gave himself unhesitatingly to the service of God as a minister in His Church.

The years of illness were no doubt a period of spiritual preparation. It is said that, all the long time that he was confined to his armchair, his Bible was ever at his hand on the table, and all his younger brothers and sisters used to come to him for light and encouragement in their spiritual and other troubles

and worries. He was always the most sympathising and helpful of confidants. It was in this as in everything else in his life: he wished to share with others the joys which he found in his religion, just as he wished to share the brightness and the fun which he found so often in the everyday things about his path. He wished to take upon himself a share of the burden that lay heavy upon others, just as he had found his own burden made lighter by that Friend to whom he had learnt to turn in the hour of trouble.

But there were other interests also which served to beguile the days of weakness. He never gave up his practice of writing verses, and a cousin who was with him during the first year or two of his illness says: "I have very distinct remembrances of him. He was obliged at that time to drive always about in a wheel-chair, but his spirits and good temper never altered. To the last day of his life he often alluded to the jokes and fun we all had together, and repeated the little rhymes he used to make upon us, while his happy religion was as bright as ever."

He took an immense interest in the sufferers by the Irish famine of 1847. Always a fervent patriot, his boyish heart was deeply touched by the woes of his countrymen, and, although this was during one of the earlier years of his illness, he wrote several considerable poems on the subject, one of the most striking being suggested by a letter which related how a poor Galway man, finding no resource remaining to him by which he could sustain life, stole away from his family and friends, and, turning into the wild and lonely mountains of the district, there died. This act, spring-

ing from a wish in the peasant's heart to spare his loved ones the painful sight of his death, appealed strongly to William Plunket's imagination. The seventeenth, and last, stanza of his poem thus gives his estimate of the poor man's heroism:

"Oh! 'twas a pure and noble deed!
The mailèd warriors that bleed
Could do no more.
The world is not so full of ill,
But that she has her heroes still,
Though they be poor."

It was at this time, too, that he developed a taste for botany. When he began to be able to move about he made an excellent herbarium, and in all the busy years that followed he never lost his interest in the subject, though latterly it chiefly took the direction of tree-growing and ornamental gardening at Old Connaught.

At the age of twenty William Plunket must therefore be pictured as a tall, slender invalid, of great beauty of feature, especially of eyes, though no longer possessing the brilliant colouring of his boyhood. It was doubtless at this time that his face when in repose began to assume that expression of melancholy which is observable in all portraits of him, and which was absolutely misleading as to his disposition. Never was there a man of a more equable and sunny nature. "The cheeriest of men," "a man of superb temper," "the dullest trifles of everyday life were continually illuminated by the magic touch of his humour": in words such as these is he spoken of by those who knew him well. It was not the general impression of those who had no personal knowledge of him. To

them he was the somewhat lugubrious personage of the newspaper portraits, in entire harmony with the narrow Evangelical which he was generally supposed to be. Neither impression was correct. An Evangelical—a strong Evangelical—he was, but never narrow. The very mistakes which in the views of some people he made were in reality the outcome of his breadth of sympathy. When he took up any uncompromisingly strict position as an extreme Low Churchman, it was invariably on occasions when he was acting as representative of that party, and, as he stated in many letters, would not willingly lead them into a course of action which he knew they would disapprove, however strongly he personally might hold more liberal views. He felt himself most closely in sympathy with such men as Frederick Maurice, and it was one of the volumes of sermons by this writer which was being read to him in his last illness.

Lady Plunket.

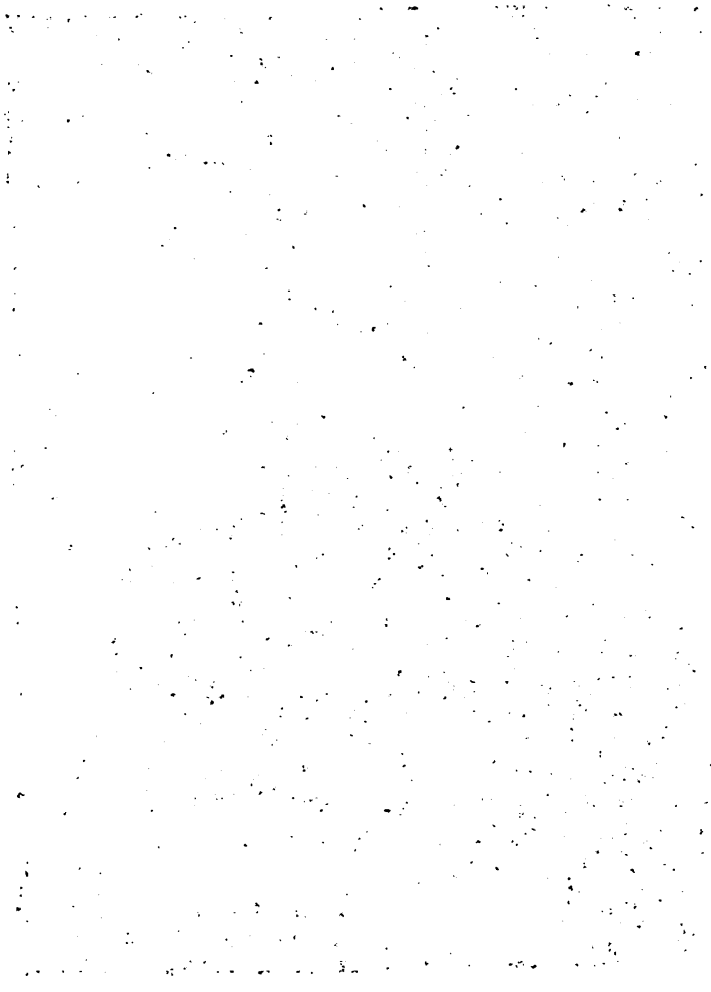
CHAPTER III

WEST CONNAUGHT—HIS MARRIAGE

[illegible] Cambridge had been given up [illegible] with [illegible] health fresh plans were made for [illegible] of William Plunket's education. [illegible] [illegible]ble in a few years' time to enter [illegible] [illegible], Dublin, where he was [illegible] [illegible]rsity course while living at his [illegible] [illegible] permitted to try for honours, but [illegible] [illegible] B.A. degree in 1853.

[illegible] this, four years elapsed before his complete [illegible]y enabled him to seek ordination at the hands [illegible] uncle, Lord Plunket, Bishop of Tuam whose [illegible] secretary and chaplain he became so soon as [illegible] made a deacon. In the following year he was [illegible] priest, and became rector of the united [illegible] of Kilmoylan and Cummer.

[illegible] this moment one of the deepest interests and [illegible] sorting works of his life may be dated. He [illegible] ought into contact with the terrible ignorance [illegible] of the inhabitants of the wild moun- [illegible] west country. He was horrified at the total [illegible] knowledge of the Bible on the part of these [illegible] folk, and at the terror they displayed of [illegible] powers of the Roman priests. It is



CHAPTER III

WEST CONNAUGHT—HIS MARRIAGE

ALTHOUGH Cambridge had been given up, yet with returning health fresh plans were made for the completion of William Plunket's education. It was found possible in a few years' time to enter him at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was able to take the University course while living at his own home. He was not permitted to try for honours, but he took the ordinary B.A. degree in 1853.

After this, four years elapsed before his complete recovery enabled him to seek ordination at the hands of his uncle, Lord Plunket, Bishop of Tuam, whose private secretary and chaplain he became so soon as he was made a deacon. In the following year he was ordained priest, and became rector of the united parishes of Kilmoylan and Cummer.

From this moment one of the deepest interests and most absorbing works of his life may be dated. He was brought into contact with the terrible ignorance and superstition of the inhabitants of the wild mountainous west country. He was horrified at the total lack of knowledge of the Bible on the part of these uncivilised folk, and at the terror they displayed of the miraculous powers of the Roman priests. It is

difficult for Englishmen, especially such as have never travelled into those regions, to realise the feelings which must be aroused in the heart of a young enthusiastic Irish clergyman by what he sees around him.

William Plunket was a great patriot. In love for his country he gave way to no man. He preached, he wrote, he *lived* as a patriot. It must, then, have been a perpetual source of grief to him to see that land so dear to his heart given up (as regards so large and so fair a portion) to the Church of Rome, whose system has sapped the independence and vitality of well-nigh every nation that has yielded to her influence. But more than that: particular instances of a heart-breaking nature were not lacking round about his uncle's house, which was at this time his home. The children were frightened from attending the school by threats of miraculous interference on the part of the priest, and by the more practical measure of sending out parties to stone and chase them, so that, as Mr. Plunket says in a letter of this date, "in their fear the children turn aside out of the public road, and try to find their way through woods and by-paths to their much-loved school." This was a school to which Lord Plunket, Bishop of Tuam, was falsely accused by the Roman priests of forcing his tenantry under pain of eviction to send their children. "Never," says Mr. Plunket, "have I heard of any instance in which any tenants who expressed a conscientious objection to the school were compelled to send their children thither, but I have often heard of tenants who expressed a conscientious approval of the school, and were

compelled to keep their children from it by the dread of a fate worse than eviction—fear of that supernatural power of punishment which in their ignorance and superstition they supposed the priest to possess."

Of another scandalous occurrence he also writes:

"TOURMAKEADY, HOLLYMOUNT, CO. MAYO,
"*Jan.* 3, 1859.

"Within the last week a poor man, a Scripture-reader, whose kind and gentle disposition must have won the esteem and love of all who knew him, has passed away from among us.

* * * * *

"Alas! is it not too true that, assuming to himself a cruel arrogance which I cannot bear to think he really feels, he [the resident Roman priest], a minister of that Gospel whose motto is 'Bless, and curse not,' has openly vaunted that this man's death was the result of his curse; that he never passed the sick man's house without leaving his malediction upon it; and that the result was to be seen in that corpse which the house at length contained? That such a cruel vaunt has been made I have too much reason to believe. It is, however, open to denial. . .

"But an event has occurred with reference to this poor man's death which can meet with no denial. . . . This event occurred just as the remains of that poor man, attended by his many friends and by his poor, weeping, frantic widow, were being carried past the gates of that monastery where the priest in company with the monks of the place resides. . .

"A number of ragged boys, collected together, it

would seem, by the monks for the occasion, were stationed in the school-house, while behind these boys some of the monks themselves tried, as well they might, to screen themselves from observation. Such preparations having been made, a poor man, who, as I believe, himself feels no ill-will towards his Protestant neighbours, but who was evidently put forward by others for the purpose, advanced towards the roadside as the solemn procession approached, and addressing one of the Scripture readers, in a tone of cruel triumph exclaimed, 'The priest has laid that man low; which of you can raise him up?' And upon some of the mourners remonstrating against this indecent outrage, the boys, who had stood within the school-house grinning and chuckling at the awful speech, joined in with a strange, unseemly ribaldry, which was continued until the funeral train had passed away from sight."

Doubtless many other similar outrages, and many other evidences of ignorant superstition, could be collected from William Plunket's letters of this period. But it is better not to revive too many of such sad memories. After all, these things happened more than forty years ago, and surely by this time there must be a little more light and a little more love, following the spread of education and the better knowledge of the Scriptures, even in the remotest villages of lonely Connemara. That *some* of these shameful things should be told is necessary, in order to show how inevitably Mr. William Plunket was moved to devote himself to the cause of the Irish Church Missions, and shortly afterwards to start the West Connaught Endowment

Fund, and also in order that English readers may have some little notion of another aspect of the Roman Church than the more or less attractive one which is carefully exhibited in England. If they would know what it has really done for the poor, let them try to fathom the ignorance and darkness in which it has kept the peasantry of Spain, Italy, and Ireland, and of every country where it has obtained dominion.

It was William Plunket's knowledge and practical experience of these things which partially influenced him in the work he undertook, but it was still more his burning desire to share with others the freedom and joy of the Gospel. He had been brought up in the best Evangelical school, he had come under the teaching of some of the most earnest and eminent of the Evangelical clergy, he had through long years of suffering found healing and peace in a personal and untrammelled approach to his Saviour, and it is small wonder that it should have been one of his first cares to assist others to share his privileges, whether they were the peasantry of his beloved native land, or those who in Spain, Portugal, or Italy were beginning the struggle for freedom from the errors of Rome.

In the work among the scattered inhabitants of the West of Ireland he was greatly helped by friends from England, as soon as the object for which he was striving became generally known. Among these were such well-known men as the Bishop of Rochester (Wigram), who wrote a preface to a pamphlet in which Mr. Plunket described the state of affairs in Connemara and gave some account of the missions; Mr. Henry

Hoare, the eminent banker, to whose munificence and untiring energy the resuscitation of Convocation was largely due; and Canon George Venables, at that time Vicar of Friezland in Yorkshire, and afterwards Vicar of Great Yarmouth. Much of the information about the work in the West of Ireland which follows is gleaned from the diaries of the last-named gentleman, who became a life-long friend of the future Archbishop.

Mr. Plunket's pamphlet, which was practically an appeal for the West Connaught Endowment Fund, gives reasons for the urgency of the case. Before the formation of the Society for Irish Church Missions many other religious societies were labouring here and there throughout the district of West Connaught. The income, however, of that society being at that time considerable, the whole of West Connaught was handed over to its care. Unfortunately, funds became scarcer, and the society was obliged to confine itself (as far as West Connaught was concerned) to the district of West Galway. This left West Mayo unprovided for, and Mr. Plunket laid stress upon the vital importance of a society which proposed (as the West Connaught Endowment Society did) to come forward on behalf of some of these relinquished stations at that critical juncture, and to repair the breach before it was too late.

Most interesting are the accounts given in this pamphlet of the surroundings of the little mission groups, and of their devotion and success. What more striking than this story of the Church's work in Clifden?

"The owner of Clifden five-and-twenty years ago lived in a beautiful place adjoining the town, in a castle which overlooked the inlet of the Atlantic beside which Clifden is situated. He was a strictly upright, fearless, and amiable man, much beloved and respected by the people; but he was more: he was a pious and consistent Christian, and it grieved his soul, day by day, to see the fearful state of spiritual destitution in the midst of which he lived. At last he and his brother, a man of like spirit, adopted the only alternative which at the time seemed open to them: they resolved to pray. Five-and-twenty years ago, upon a Friday evening, they with three or four friends established a weekly prayer-meeting. That weekly prayer-meeting has never been discontinued. For ten or twelve years the prayers of those few suppliants went up to God, entreating Him to pour down a blessing upon the surrounding neighbourhood; and yet no answer seemed to come. In God's good time, however, the little cloud was seen; by degrees the heavens became full of impending blessings, and at last the shower descended. And now in that same district of West Galway, where five-and-twenty years ago there was but this one small church, with its twenty or thirty worshippers, there are now no less than twenty-five congregations, ten of which meet in churches; and one of these is the large new church of Clifden, in which every Sunday there is a congregation of about three hundred worshippers. Truly we may say with the Apostle, 'The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.'"

Many strange stories are also told in the same

booklet of the state of affairs discovered in Connemara, and none stranger than the finding in a National school a placard called "The General Lesson," ordered to be placed there by the National Board in Ireland. One of the sentences of this lesson contained the following good advice:

"Many men hold erroneous doctrines; but we ought not to hate or persecute them. We ought to seek for the truth, and hold fast what we are convinced is the truth; but not to treat harshly those who are in error."

It is hardly credible, but it was stated as a fact by the schoolmaster, that the Roman priest crossed out the words "seek for the truth, and," also the words "we are convinced," and altered the word "harshly" into "rashly," so that children must have taken the priest's corrections to mean that they had no right to think for themselves, which is an example of the usual Romish attitude.

But to turn to pleasanter things. Many pictures are given of the happy groups of mission workers, and a charming description of the Ballyconree Orphanage and the Glenowen Orphan Nursery. After speaking of the singing of a Communion hymn by the girls of the latter establishment, Mr. Plunket goes on to say:

"It is not the first time that the voices of these Glenowen orphans have taken me by surprise. I remember, one of the first times I ever visited Clifden, wandering out one Sunday afternoon to the summit of a little hill that overhangs the town. It was a lovely day, and everything around was quiet and peaceful. On the one side rose up the majestic Connemara

mountains, looking all the grander through the evening haze; on the other the ocean inlet stretched away in its calm narrow channel towards the Atlantic, while beneath me nestled the little town of Clifden. It was just as I was enjoying in silence this glorious scene that I heard, some little distance below where I stood, the beautiful harmony of children's voices breaking the stillness. For a few moments I listened, but did not see: at last curiosity prompted me to try to solve the meaning of the sounds, and after a short search I came in sight of the singers—the Glenowen orphans. There they were, seated together in a secluded nook of the hill, and, unconscious of any eye upon them but God's, were singing amongst themselves their Sabbath hymns."

Here is a picture from the same pamphlet of the joy of the Church people on the island of Moyrus when visited by the Bishop of Rochester and Mr. Dallas, accompanied by Mr. Plunket:

"We sailed away from Roundstone quay, and in about half-an-hour's time the outline of the Moyrus coast became distinctly visible. Another half-hour, and we plainly saw the little church and school and parsonage that stand beside that coast. A few minutes more, and we heard the hearty cheers of the converts, who had seen our sails approaching, and had rushed down in a body to the shore to give us an Irish welcome and help us to clamber up the slippery rocks. In the schoolroom a crowd of about a hundred, young and old, were collected together. Often have I been present on such occasions, but never did I see more

genuine 'heart' than was manifested in the countenances of these Moyrus people. . . . I feel that, in order to present a perfect picture of this gathering, I must tinge it with that additional glow of enthusiasm which is felt by a rarely-visited people when their turn comes at length—when once again they see their much-loved friends amongst them."

The Bishop of Rochester, in his preface to the pamphlet, alludes to another very touching circumstance—viz., that the first Irish collection for the Lancashire Distress Fund was from the converts of Clifden. Out of the abundance of their thankfulness for the help they had received in the famine, and notwithstanding their own deep poverty, they gave to the extent of their power, and beyond their power, to England's manufacturing districts.

Those who have found their way in search of scenery or sport to the mountains, loughs, and rivers of Connemara and of West Mayo, will be able to picture the sort of country and sort of people for whom William Plunket's earliest ministerial work was done. From his own writings it is possible to gather much of the persecutions, poverty, and difficulties which beset the worshippers at those little mission stations, and which were cheerfully and gladly borne for very thankfulness at their escape from the errors of the Romish Church. But all is not told. The Bishop in his preface speaks of the marvellous change which the mission had produced in Tuam itself: the softening of manners, the friendliness of demeanour between the rival religionists; the spread of the Douay Bible, the conces-

sion of its use to the people ; the new translation of the Irish Bible coming out in numbers for their enlightenment in that town. He referred also to the unmistakable proofs of the untamed hostility and deadly spirit which he found animating Romanism in the district of Ballyovic. These things Mr. Plunket passed by as not being part of his more recent experiences. The Bishop's comment on the whole pamphlet is that, from what he himself saw and heard, it was anything but an exaggeration : it was a simple and correct statement of facts, and no more. This Bishop of Rochester was Dr. Joseph Cotton Wigram, chiefly noted for the work he did in helping to restore the due observance of Ascension Day.

For further information as to the West Connaught work it is necessary to turn to the diaries of Canon Venables. Here we learn that he first made Mr. Plunket's acquaintance at Friezland Vicarage on the evening of June 1, 1863, after returning from a Church Congress committee meeting at Manchester. Mr. Plunket, in his constant longing for the welfare of the Irish Church, was looking about for some member of this committee who would try to secure that "the Irish Church" should form one of the subjects for discussion at the forthcoming Congress. Mr. Venables had written some articles in a local paper on the subject of Ireland and the Irish Church Missions, "which," he says, "I then thought and still think very much to be applauded and sustained." Here, then, was the very man for Mr. Plunket's purpose, and a long and very anxious talk entirely upon Irish Church matters began a

friendship which the death of the Archbishop alone terminated.

On this first occasion the opportunity of making further plans was but small, for Mr. Plunket, with the sisters who accompanied him, had to cross to Ireland the next day.

Very shortly after this Mr. Plunket was married to Miss Anne Lee Guinness, only daughter of Mr. Benjamin Lee Guinness, who was created a baronet in 1867, and by whose munificence the restoration of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin was accomplished. This lady is described as a fair-haired, somewhat romantic girl, and the portraits of her—especially one of those on the walls of Old Connaught House—give evidence of considerable beauty.

"Lady Plunket," says one who knew her well, "was light, gay, cheerful, and very attractive in looks and manner, proud of her husband and intensely devoted to him. She had great benevolence of character, and was never wearied in service for the poor and sick and unhappy. Her last illness and death were, certainly in part, owing to her self-sacrificing efforts for good."

This is the fitting place to mention the St. Patrick's Nursing Home in Dublin, which was, from a philanthropic point of view, one of the late Archbishop's greatest works. It must be mentioned here, because it owed its beginning to an effort made by Lady Plunket while she was still Miss Guinness. Her father, Sir Benjamin Guinness, was busy restoring St. Patrick's Cathedral. This doubtless often took his daughter into the immediate neighbourhood of the building, and so much horrified was she at the poverty and neglect of

the district surrounding the cathedral, and so much struck with the contrast between the splendour of the great church and the squalor of those who dwelt beneath its shadow, that she determined to establish a Bible-woman to work in that special portion of Dublin. To this purpose she devoted a small legacy that had been left to her, and gathered some other ladies round her to assist in the work. After some time an extension of the scheme was found absolutely necessary. The Bible-woman brought in such heartrending details of the sufferings she witnessed, that it was felt that a district nurse ought to be at once provided. By this time Miss Guinness had been married to Mr. Plunket, and a great effort was made by them to set the matter going. The original committee also contained the names of the Hon. Isabel Plunket and Miss Thompson (a most devoted lady, who gave her whole life to the work), while the present Mrs. Thomas Greene joined them almost from the first. Money was soon collected in sufficient quantity to provide one nurse. Every day, however, showed how hopeless it was for one woman to attempt to cope with a tithe of the misery and suffering with which she came in contact, and in 1876 a regular nursing home was started, with a superintendent and three or four nurses, according as funds came in.

St. Patrick's Nursing Home, as it was called, was one of the pioneers of such institutions in Great Britain, and met with the usual amount of opposition which is shown to good works in a novel form. For a long time people thought such a thing totally unnecessary. It had not existed "in their day," and so on.

Again and again the whole thing threatened to collapse for want of support, but Lord Plunket's hopeful nature and vigorous action never allowed others to despair, and, with his bright optimism and steady pertinacity in whatever he thought right, he pulled it through all its troubles.

Then, again, there was the opposition of the Roman Catholics, who exhibited their usual dread of proselytism, owing to which the nurses had hard times just at first. However, the benefits resulting to the poor were so manifest, and experience showed so plainly that no tampering with the faith of the patients was ever attempted (not one single complaint of this sort having been made since the foundation of the work), that the opposition died away; and not only the Roman Catholic poor themselves, but often also their priests, begged for the nurse's help. It should be mentioned that at the outset the nurse, who began the work alone, had been meant for the Protestant poor only—*i.e.*, those visited by the Bible-woman; but it was very soon felt that no distinction could be made in suffering, and all appeals for help were responded to. Some years afterwards another Home was started in Dublin for Roman Catholic nurses, and it is pleasant to record that both Homes are in perfectly friendly union and work harmoniously together.

Mrs. Thomas Greene, from whose letters the above information is chiefly gleaned, adds, in a letter dated April 13, 1900:

"When the Queen Victoria Jubilee Institute was founded, some members of it came over here [Dublin] with the idea of founding a Nurses' Home, but they found, as Mr. Rathbone

said, that we were 'working exactly on the lines desired by her Majesty,' so they begged us to add to our work by making the Home a training institution for giving *district* training to those already hospital-trained nurses who were desirous of taking up the work. We became affiliated to the London Institute, and have trained about sixty nurses, who are chiefly working in Ireland, but some in England and two in Holland. I may add that I have this morning received a notice that her Majesty will inspect all the Jubilee Nurses next Thursday at the Viceregal Lodge. Our late Archbishop would indeed have rejoiced at this."

It will be seen from the foregoing account to what dimensions and to what a pitch of prosperity Archbishop Plunket's enthusiasm and devotion brought the St. Patrick's Nursing Home. His work for it never ceased until his death. One of the last public functions at which he presided was the annual meeting of the Home, and when he lay upon his death-bed, on the very day when the doctors had thought it right to tell him how seriously ill he was, he still remembered to send out and ask what had been done at a committee meeting of the Home which had just been held, and then sent word to say that he thought some action it was proposed to take would be ill-advised. It is interesting to note that the work which began with the compassion of one young girl, and the devotion of her little legacy to the cause, has now an income of nearly £1700 per annum, and was able last year to send out nurses who paid *thirty-five thousand* visits to the sick and needy.

Immediately after his marriage, a little bit of evidence is found to show Mr. William Plunket's keenness for the Irish Church. The honeymoon—

usually sacred from business of any kind—was not over when he wrote begging Mr. Venables to meet him at Chester, where they were fully occupied on the evening of the one day and morning of the next in discussing Irish Church affairs with a view to the forthcoming Church Congress at Manchester.

Mr. Venables had succeeded in obtaining an afternoon of the Congress week for the Irish Church, and on Wednesday, October 14, Mr. Plunket made his first important public appearance in England by reading an admirable paper on the hopeful prospect of the Church in Ireland.

Much correspondence then ensued, chiefly with reference to the West Connaught Endowment Fund, until in the April of 1864 Mr. and Mrs. Venables went over to Dublin on a visit to the Plunkets. They were entertained at 80 St. Stephen's Green, the house of Mr. B. Guinness, and from there Mr. Venables was shown many things of interest. He notes that on the Sunday he was taken to the Townsend Street Mission School, where he preached.

These schools interested him immensely. They were a centre of work for the Irish Church missions, and the services held in them on Sundays were attended by many of the poorest and most ignorant in Dublin. In a letter describing a service there Mr. Plunket says :

"On the front benches are seated some of those many friends of the mission work in Dublin who daily devote their time and money and often their health to work among the Roman Catholic poor. . . .

Then there are the Scripture-readers, school-masters and mistresses of the Society, most of them converts from Romanism. . . . Behind them there is a motley group. . . . Many of these are the very poor, women with infants at their breast, &c. . . Behind them again there is a body of listeners who watch the preacher with a sort of tremulous eagerness which marks them from others. These are Roman Catholics who are still inquiring after the truth. They have dropped in noiselessly from the quiet little lane which communicates with the far end of the room: they have stolen in the first place into that small porchway; they have listened there for a while unobserved, and at last they have been impelled by interest or curiosity to find their way to some of the nearest forms. I have often thought of 'the searching of heart' which must have been felt within that little porch. It must require earnestness to enable any waverer to leave that hiding place and take his seat within the house of God. Lastly, to complete the picture, I must not forget the two sloping galleries at the far end of the room, where the children belonging to the Dormitories and other Mission institutions are seated. . .

"As I look into their little sparkling anxious eyes, and as I remember the many instances in which not only the lives but the dying beds of the little ones who have been brought up in these schools have testified to the reality of their faith and love, I am constrained to feel that they do not form the least interesting feature in the congregation."

Various meetings on behalf of the West Connaught

Endowment Fund were held at this time, and one important one for Irish Church missions, at which Mr. Henry Hoare (who came all the way from London for the purpose), the Dean of Bangor, Mr. Venables, and others were the speakers.

The final gathering of the series was on behalf of the Additional Curates Society, the Bishop of Cork in the chair. These meetings and the interest they aroused are worth noting, inasmuch as they owed their existence in a large measure to Mr. William Plunket. After giving a description of them in his diary, Mr. Venables adds, "W. C. P., the hearty, humble, diligent, determined assistant and adviser in all these things."

It must be remembered that at this time Mr. Plunket had been a very short time in holy orders, and it is remarkable to see the position given to him in the Irish Church so early in life. Thus, it was he who was entrusted with the arrangements for obtaining a discussion on the Irish Church at the Manchester Church Congress, on which occasion he read a paper. Then it is he who organises this series of important meetings in Dublin. And all this although it was scarcely six years since his ordination. There are one or two matters to be considered which largely account for his prominence. In the first place, his ordination had been delayed, owing to his illness, until he was in his thirtieth year, so that he was not a very young man at this time. Secondly, he came of a family so brilliant and so famous in Ireland, that that mere fact would be almost sufficient to account for his position. But he

not only came of the stock of Plunket and of Bushe, but he inherited a large share of their gifts, an unswerving devotion to duty, a charm of feature and of manner, a quick insight into the difficulties of a case, and a personal influence over those with whom he came in contact, which all marked him out as the man who, if his health suffered no relapse, would take a high position among the Irish ecclesiastics of the near future.

CHAPTER IV

CANON VENABLES' VISIT TO WEST CONNAUGHT

MR. PLUNKET was now exceedingly desirous that Mr. Venables should write a pamphlet on the mission work in West Connaught, and in order that he might be able to do this, a second visit to Ireland was planned for this same year, 1864. On August 23 Mr. Venables, accompanied by some of his family, crossed to Dublin, and a day or two later went on to Galway in the company of Mr. Plunket, and proceeded by steamboat to a small place called Ashford, twenty-six miles up Lough Corrib. Here he witnessed the departure of some emigrants, a scene which astonished him greatly, but was probably useful as a preparation for attempting to understand the people among whom he found himself—a race as different from the Yorkshire folk of his home as can well be imagined. The description of the scene shall be given in Mr. Venables' own words, for it will serve as an introduction to the wild and dangerous surroundings of their subsequent expedition, and it may soften the harsh judgment of the reader when he realises the strangely emotional character of these West Connaught peasants. Mr. Venables writes :

"As the boat left the little wharf, separating, probably for ever, a large number of dear relatives and friends, the shriek that went up towards heaven was to us most agonising and brought much sorrow to our hearts. We lingered about for half-an-hour, till the boat was out of sight, and were greatly astonished at beholding the sorrowing groups speedily recovering themselves, fortifying themselves with a drop of the 'craythur,' and soon becoming as happy and joyful as if their loved ones had just come home. The sorrow was probably as genuine as the joy that succeeded, but the rapidity of the change, and the fact that these bereaved fathers and mothers and friends could so quickly shake off sorrow and apparently forget it, rather perplexed and certainly astonished us 'Saxons.'"

Bearing in mind the curious temperament of the people, the following extract from the same diary will be of great interest. It must be remembered that although this was the first experience of the kind which Mr. Venables had encountered, yet it was of a piece with very much through which William Plunket had already passed and with which he was tolerably familiar. Here is the account:

"I have often spoken of Tuesday, August 30, 1864, as the day of my first martyrdom! It was the day on which I first experienced anything of the terrible opposition which can be raised up against the Church by a little covert excitement.

"The Rev. W. C. Plunket and I agreed to drive to Ballinrobe in a carriage to attend a meeting of the Hibernian Bible Society. Rain fell persistently as we went, and we did not talk much, being each of us wishful to think over what we should say at the meeting. I was therefore unwilling to disturb him as, amid the pouring rain, I observed men standing at the door of their cabin or dwelling house, sometimes with pitchfork in hand, and all making strange gesticulations of a rather alarming

character. I thought that possibly some political election might be causing a display of zeal that outran discretion, but as we entered Ballinrobe the hubbub might almost be described as serious and alarming. Mr. Brownrigg, the rector, awaited us, and we drove into his yard, going into his house for luncheon, which the scene outside hindered me from enjoying. We walked to the place of meeting, a kind of town hall, amidst the shouting and hooting of a rabble of perhaps 300 people, all clearly ready for riot and longing for some excuse to begin. About forty persons were present at the meeting. Mr. William Plunket was the chief speaker, and I also spoke, and alluded to the scene as one that demonstrated the need of the Bible being known in Ballinrobe. The noise of yelling diminished before the meeting closed, but when we came out we found ourselves escorted by some police with muskets, &c., all ready for active use. One thing especially struck me as we walked back to the rectory along the crowded streets, headed by the armed police, who were accompanied by a magistrate, a Roman Catholic but a thorough gentleman, who expressed his sorrow and shame that his fellow-countrymen and fellows in religion should misbehave themselves. But what struck me was the fact that when, owing to some trifling incident on the way, I smiled at one or two of the noisy crowd, the effect appeared almost magical, and by the time we reached the rectory and summoned the coachman all was comparatively quiet. Our departure, however, was not yet accomplished, for while we had been speaking others had been working, and had actually taken off one of the doors of our carriage. The process of adjusting this took time, and then Mr. Plunket, Mr. Cory, and I got in. The multitude, however, were not quite appeased, and followed us with loud shoutings. Just as we were reaching the end of Ballinrobe, which is a small town of between two and three thousand inhabitants, my two companions found that something had been left behind at the rectory, and, to my dismay, left the carriage and pushed their way through the mob to fetch the missing article. They left the door of the carriage open. I resolved not to close it or

show any fear, and taking out my pocket-book, I made there the notes from which this is taken. Never had I such an illustration of the words in Psalm xxxv. 15: 'The very abjects came together against me, making mouths at me and ceased not.' Unceasing changes of the most hideous and horrible grimaces were given in front of the entrance to the carriage, and I prepared for a possible scuffle; but at that moment a good woman passing by said, 'He's done you no harm, let him alone,' and soon after (though it seemed to me a long while) my two companions returned, and getting into the brougham we drove off, followed by a battering shower of missiles, by which fortunately only the carriage suffered."

From this place the party appear to have gone to the Hon. David Plunket's place at the head of the Killeries, where the chief matter of interest as regards William Plunket is that on this occasion he landed his first salmon, which he rose and killed in a pool of the river at the bottom of his uncle's garden.

After a short stay here, they accompanied the Bishop of Tuam to several places, where new churches were consecrated or foundation stones laid. In this way Renoyle, Errismore, Ballinahinch (the fisherman's paradise), and many other spots were visited, and it is worthy of notice that every church consecrated and every stone laid, every school erected and every smallest mission group visited, owed either its actual beginning or at all events its renewed vitality to the work of William Conyngham Plunket. This fact must have made him the best possible conductor of the tour.

A remarkable incident occurred on Omey Island, whither Mr. Venables and Mr. Plunket had driven in a car across the sands at low tide to take the service

on Sunday, September 4. They were aware that they could not have a very long time on the island, so the service consisted merely of the Litany and a sermon by Mr. Plunket. Hardly, however, had he got into the middle of his address when a warning shout gave notice that the tide was rising rapidly. Away rushed the clergy for the shore, and down across the sands they ran. The car followed as quickly as possible: they jumped in; the horse fortunately took the water boldly, and, though the sea was running into the car, they reached the mainland in safety after a somewhat anxious experience.

In the following weeks much correspondence ensued between Mr. Plunket and Mr. Venables as to the forthcoming Church Congress at Bristol, where again an afternoon was given to a discussion on Irish Church matters, which was chiefly noteworthy for a wonderful speech by Dr. Magee, then Dean of Cork, and afterwards Archbishop of York. On this occasion also Mr. Plunket was present, and was of great service to the cause he had so warmly at heart, although he did not come so prominently to the front as at the Manchester Congress.

Just about this time Mr. William Plunket came to live entirely in Dublin, having accepted the treasurership of St. Patrick's Cathedral—a very suitable office, since it was his father-in-law's money that was restoring the edifice. This position left him free to carry on much of the work in connection with the Irish Church missions and West Connaught endowment. His domestic cares and joys were also increased in 1864 by the birth of his son and heir, the present Lord Plunket,

private secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Between that date and the year 1879 his family grew to six, four daughters and a second son, the Rev. the Hon. Benjamin J. Plunket, now a hard-working Dublin clergyman.

CHAPTER V

DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE IRISH CHURCH

IN 1866 the Bishop of Tuam died, and was succeeded in the barony by his brother, the Hon. John Plunket, Q.C., father of the future Archbishop. From this date Mr. and Mrs. William Plunket appear to have been a great deal at Old Connaught, Lord Plunket's country seat near Bray.

But a great crisis was at hand, and for the next few years the time and attention of William Plunket were largely given to endeavouring to stem the flood of Disestablishment while yet there seemed time, and afterwards to laying down the lines of Irish Church government so as to suit her altered circumstances. For such a task he was peculiarly fitted. In the first place, his turn of mind was rather that of a layman than of an ecclesiastic. As has been said, he had little historical sense, and its absence no doubt made the prospect of the change less difficult. Further, he was brought up in a distinctly political atmosphere. He was a born Whig. It has been said that the essence of politics is compromise, and

"for compromise," says one of his former chaplains, "the fourth Lord Plunket had a positive genius. A trifling instance of the compromising temperament I can give. His grace

suffered much from cold. He had a bad circulation, and could seldom keep his feet warm. Moreover, he had an old-fashioned hatred of open windows. On the other hand, I am a fresh-air fanatic. We often had to drive in cabs together, and when we did of recent years it was his habit to open a little bit of the top of one window and *hold the strap* till we got to the end of our drive."

Again, he was a great student of human nature and a very acute (though kindly) judge of his fellow men. He knew to a nicety the effect his words would have upon his hearers, especially when spoken in public to large assemblies. He was an excellent writer of letters and communications to the Press, and fully realised the vast power for good and evil of the "fourth estate." Being a comparatively young man, he was more easily able to acclimatise himself to a new ecclesiastical constitution, a matter of great difficulty to older men, such as Archbishop Trench.

In addition to these qualities, there was the power he inherited of being able with ease to seize upon the chief points in a case or to digest a Blue-book, while no doubt the old days of private theatricals and recitations helped to give him confidence in stating his views in the presence of a critical audience. But there were higher qualifications than these. The welfare of the Irish Church was intensely dear to him. He sought purity therein first, and progress afterwards. If in the view of some his leaning was to rather more Protestantism than they approved, yet all acknowledged that it was the honest, heartfelt conviction of a prayerful, God-fearing man. Canon Venables writes that the question with him never seemed

to be "What will be a good thing?" but "What is right?"

Again, to quote the same friend:

> "Great feeling and anxiety were exhibited all through this time for the welfare of the Irish Church, but accompanied by a confidence that, whatever politicians might do and however much she might be wronged, the Church of Ireland, even if 'rebuked and chastened' in the wise providence of God, was thus dealt with because He loved her and intended great things for her future. William Conyngham Plunket never drooped, never doubted. His confidence was in God, and he had no fear whatever, though feeling keenly and bitterly the course of events."

He possessed what has been described as "an indomitable optimism," and at such a crisis as that of the disestablishment of the Irish Church it was an invaluable gift.

But the dreaded blow had not actually fallen, and meantime many meetings and conferences were held in Ireland to avert, if possible, and, if not, to prepare for the event. Chief of these were gatherings in connection with the Dublin Church Congress of October, 1868, which was preceded by a "wondrous, splendid extempore sermon by Magee, Dean of Cork," in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Bishop Samuel Wilberforce is said to have written home an account of this sermon, which he described as the most wonderful he had ever heard, and so grand that he hardly expected ever to hear another like it.

On the Wednesday (it is a curious coincidence that at each Church Congress the same day of the week was given to Ireland) there was a great discussion on

Church work and life in Ireland, a subject which was exceedingly ably dealt with, mainly by Irish speakers. Mr. William Plunket read one of the papers, which has been described as very telling and well received.

What his views were on the subject of the disestablishment of the Irish Church can best be gathered by consulting certain pamphlets which he issued during the year 1869. One of these is called "The Dangers of Silence." The principle of the disestablishment had been carried by Parliament, but Mr. Gladstone's measure had not yet been promulgated. There was a party in the Irish Church who thought that it would be a wiser and more dignified course to wait until this was done before expressing any views *as a Church* on the subject. It was feared by these persons that the discussion of a future possible organisation of the Irish Church would, by implying the probability of defeat, inspire the enemy with confidence, and even aid in the assault by pointing out how their object could be most easily attained. Mr. William Plunket was not of the same opinion, as he sets out clearly in the pamphlet above mentioned. He wrote:

"I have always most strenuously protested against the monstrous injustice which Mr. Gladstone and his party propose to inflict on the Churchmen of Ireland, and I have always believed and asserted that the disadvantages which must result to the Church from disestablishment and disendowment are of such a nature as altogether to outweigh any possible benefit which might be expected to accrue from the same. Up to the time of the recent elections, and the resignation

of the late Ministry, I not only cautiously abstained from any expression of foreboding fears, but I buoyed up my own heart and tried to cheer the hearts of others with the hope that the nation might listen to the voice of reason and justice before it was too late. But there are times when facts get the better of the most sanguine hopes, and I confess that I now believe that (so far at least as the elections are a mark of public feeling) the verdict of the nation—an unrighteous verdict, no doubt, against which I still protest—has been given against us. I am aware that men of far greater judgment and experience than I can lay claim to are of opinion that the result of the elections by no means implies a final verdict on the part of the people. It is, I know, the conviction of many wise and able champions of our Church that by a vigorous appeal to the good sense and fair-play of the nation we shall yet . . . bring about a complete reaction in the public mind before a final decision can be obtained. Most earnestly do I wish for such a result, and most cordially will I do what I can to assist in its accomplishment. But, in perfect consistency with such a wish and such a resolve, I still maintain that it is no sign of a pusillanimous heart or a craven spirit to accept the conclusion which common sense and duty alike dictate : namely, that the danger of our position is at least sufficiently grave to make it reasonable for us to prepare with manliness and dignity for the possible contingency of defeat. But, it may be asked, cannot all this be done without any public statement of our views ? Cannot we at least keep silence till we have Mr. Gladstone's measure before us ? My answer is that it is just in the very interval which must

elapse before the meeting of Parliament that silence upon our parts may be specially injurious to the best interests of the Church.

* * * * *

"I would venture to submit to the consideration of my fellow-Churchmen what I believe to be the great dangers of an unbroken silence :

"(1) In the first place, as regards the best method of meeting the enemy's attack. Surely Churchmen generally have a right to be heard on this point. There are some, I know, who hold it to be a duty, in the event of an adverse vote, however large, to make use of every device of Parliamentary warfare to obstruct the progress of the measure in its further stages.

* * * * *

"Others are of opinion that, in the event of a large majority in favour of the Government measure, the friends of the Church . . . should shrink from the policy of mere obstruction for obstruction's sake. Such persons think that to try to maintain or prolong the existence of the Church, as a State Church, against the will of the nation by any unworthy acts of Parliamentary manœuvring, would only place the Church in a false position, would injure her spiritual interests and prospects, would divert and secularise the energies of her clergy, and would finally result in a far more unfavourable settlement of the question than might have been obtained by a less obstructive policy at the first.

"I am free to confess that I am in favour of the latter view of this question. But, whatever opinion may be held on the subject, surely it is a question sufficiently

affecting the interests of the Church at large to preclude the notion of its being decided without our knowledge, and without an opportunity being given us to express our views. And yet, if we are to know the wishes of Churchmen in the event of an adverse division . . . is it not in the interval preceding that division that, if ever, public opinion must be appealed to and elicited? Silence under such circumstances involves in my opinion a very serious danger.

"(2) But secondly, as regards the expected Government measure and its promoters.

* * * * *

"I am persuaded that a majority of those who have a voice in the construction of the measure are not influenced by any purely destructive motives, and I do believe that such persons would be glad to learn, even indirectly, in what way a measure could be framed which, while involving the principle of disestablishment to which they are pledged, might at the same time inflict as little injury on the Church as the circumstances of the case would permit. How are they to obtain this information? Is it from the specious counsels of those whom we know to be our bitter enemies? Is it from the fanciful theories of those who know nothing about it? And yet, if those of our body who really love our Church and know something about it are to maintain an unbroken silence from the fear of giving hints to our opponents, the result may be the introduction of a Bill which, if carried, will not only effect the disestablishment and disendowment of our Church, but will effect it in the way most calculated to be disastrous to her interests and unpalatable to her members. It

may be too late then to say, 'We would have wished it otherwise.'

"(3) But, thirdly, let us see the effect which our silence will have on the formation of public opinion at large even among our friends. For, while Irish Churchmen are silent, public opinion is moulding itself without their intervention, and actually pronouncing decisions as to their wishes. For example, Mr. Bonamy Price, writing to the *Times* and speaking almost as an advocate of the Irish Church, says: 'Let the Irish Bishops be removed from the House of Lords; let them be reduced to two or three if necessary; let Deans, if so desired, be abolished; let the minimum of endowment be reserved for Protestants; but let not the Parliament perform an act unprecedented in history—namely, dissolve a Church, of whatever kind, to atoms.' By which latter words he means, let a certain amount of State connection still be maintained.

* * * * *

"Now, as I have already said, I am not, and never have been, an advocate of disestablishment so long as our connection with the State can be maintained in its present form. But if we are to be robbed of our State endowments and our State privileges, then I say (and I believe that I speak the views of most of my fellow-Churchmen) let us not consent to be hampered and endangered by a profitless State control.

* * * * *

"In England, where synodical action is at present altogether of a clerical character, the lay element of Crown supremacy may be necessary to secure a

balance of parties in the government of the Church. And in some of those new-born Crown dependencies, where the scantiness or the weakness of the Church population preclude the possibility of an efficient system of self-government, the temporary guardianship of State control may be of use. But in the event of disestablishment, would this be the case in Ireland? Is it not admitted on all hands that under such circumstances the laity should be given their legitimate share in the councils, government, and patronage of the Church? And if so, are the bishops, the clergy, and the laity of Ireland so helpless and inexperienced that, if robbed of their birthright and turned out of doors, they must come back like children and humbly beg to be at least allowed the privilege of being kept in leading-strings? I confess to a feeling of patriotic pride which revolts against such a confession of utter incompetency.

"The result of the late Dublin Congress, which many feared might present to the world a spectacle of weakness and sectarian wranglings, proves in itself that Irish Churchmen can meet and deliberate and give a faithful expression to their views, not only with ability but with moderation, wisdom, and a large-hearted brotherly kindness.

"And if State control apart from State privileges can confer no advantages, let us remember the positive injuries which it might inflict.

"The slightest remnant of State connection must endanger the tenure by the Church of whatever property in the event of disendowment she may be allowed to retain. But it must do worse. It must

endanger the influence of our Church upon the mass of the Irish population. If the State should do itself as well as us the injustice of spoliating and humiliating the Church, then let the Church claim the privilege of standing forth for the future as a purely national Church. Let there not remain a shred of State connection to give a shadow of excuse to those who would still wish to describe it as an alien Church. Let us remember the grand traditional associations which connect themselves with the history of that ancient Church of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and St. Columbkill, which we profess now to represent, and let us not, if deprived of our present rightful position, denationalise ourselves in the eyes of the people by accepting the position of a mere subordinate appanage of the English Crown. Let us claim for ourselves the right to be called the Reformed Episcopal Church of Ireland, in communion with, but not a mere branch or dependency of, the sister Church of England. If the State will leave us our present honours and our present endowments, then God forbid that we should seek for separation; but if all our State privileges are swept away, then let not any form of State control or Crown supremacy prevent us from at once building up the ruined walls of our Church on the foundations of patriotism and nationality.

* * * * *

"I love my Church, and believing as I do that silence at the present moment endangers her best interests, I am compelled at all risks to speak, not with the presumptuous idea that the views of so humble an individual will carry much weight, but with the earnest

hope that they may elicit opinions from some more competent and influential members of our Church."

The foregoing extracts from Mr. Plunket's pamphlet have been quoted at some length, because they give so clear a view of his position with regard to the disestablishment question. From them, too, it is plainly seen that to accuse him of favouring the measure (an accusation which was more than hinted at when he afterwards considered the advantages of disestablishment to outweigh the disadvantages) was entirely unjustifiable. There is evidence also in these pages of some of his great qualities—*e.g.*, his clear grasp of the question and equally clear exposition of his opinion, his courtesy towards those who did not agree with him, and, more than all, the burning patriotism with which he claimed for the Irish Church the right of standing forth for the future as a purely *national Church.*

Much controversy and the perplexity of a multitude of counsels was unavoidable in the crisis which arose when Mr. Gladstone's Bill was brought in and passed. It would take too much space to discuss all the questions which arose, and to show the number of occasions on which Mr. Plunket's statesmanlike disposition was of service in helping to keep the peace and to solve difficulties, while the various parties in the Church of Ireland were trying to come to an amicable settlement as to the new constitution which had become necessary. One special matter, however, must be mentioned, as giving a further example of his genius. The question, "Are the bishops to sit in a separate

chamber, and to vote as a separate order, in the approaching synod?" was being discussed with a considerable amount of keenness if not of *animus*. The bishops were accused by some of a merely selfish desire for personal aggrandisement, while they were merely seeking to maintain certain privileges of their order which were in their opinion essential to the well-being of the Church. On the other hand, those who objected to these episcopal privileges were taunted as seeking to presbyterianise the Church. The strife round this point waxed very hot. Mr. Plunket came forward with a suggestion, prompted partly by his desire for peace, partly by his clear foresight of the true interests of the Church, and partly by his innate liking for compromise. He proposed, in a most able pamphlet, *that the bishops should not sit in a separate chamber, but should vote as a separate order.*

His main arguments were: First, that, for the sake of that union which was at that moment so vitally important among Irish Churchmen, such concessions as would require no abandonment of principle ought to be cheerfully made by both sides.

Secondly, that such a course would not be at variance with the *most* ancient precedents, though it might be at variance with *some* ancient precedents. He quoted the fact that in the Convocation of Canterbury the custom of the clergy retiring to consult apart from the bishops only dated from the fourteenth century, and in Ireland was of more recent date still. Also that in the Convocation of York the bishops and clergy deliberated in one assembly.

Thirdly, that, so far from such a course lowering the

position of the bishops, it would add to their dignity, by making them not only *rulers* but, a prouder title, *leaders*.

So much for the arguments on the one side—*i.e.*, as against those who desired a separate chamber and vote for the bishops. On the other side he held that the course he proposed would not enable the bishops, by giving them a separate vote, to force legislation on the Church. "If," he said, "the power of an absolute veto be given to each of the three orders [bishops, clergy, and laity], the idea of any combination between the bishops and clergy to outvote the laity must fall to the ground." He maintained that the vote of the bishops would be a power simply as a veto and not as a legislative act. Again, there were some who thought that the bishops might use their veto for the purpose of thwarting the clearly expressed wishes of the great body of the Church—that, in fact, a majority of their body might refuse to yield even in a matter of mere expediency, and might use their power to defy and exasperate the Church. These men said that they did not look upon such a contingency as possible so long as their present bishops lived. This supplied Mr. Plunket with a ready answer. "If," he said, "we have this confidence in our present bishops, in whose appointment we have had no voice, how much more, if it be possible, may we not hope to trust those whom we shall choose for ourselves?" There were some who feared that to give the bishops a separate vote would unduly exalt the authority of the episcopal office. To such persons Mr. Plunket replied by asking what they understood by the authority of a bishop. As to

the question whether the bishops were either supernaturally qualified or officially authorised to lay down laws for the Church entrusted to their charge, he made his own position clear by stating that he most heartily endorsed the words of Hooker when he says that, "till it be proved that some special law of Christ hath for ever annexed unto the clergy alone the power to make ecclesiastical laws, we are to hold it a thing most consonant with equity and reason that no ecclesiastical law be made in a Christian commonwealth without the consent as well of the laity as of the clergy." But he considered it absurd to suppose that the bishops, when called upon to give their votes upon questions affecting the welfare of the Church, should be expected to take their place as units in the great mass of those over whom they have been placed in charge. The refusal of a separate vote would, in his opinion, be an undue and unprecedented humiliation of the office, calculated to bring Episcopacy into contempt and to "loosen with one wanton stroke the very foundations of our ancient Apostolic Church."

In the course of his arguments on this subject there occurs a passage which is well worth quoting, clearly setting forth his views as to the relation between the Churches of England and Ireland—a matter which became of great moment at a later date, when the question of the consecration of Señor Cabrera as bishop of the Reformed Church in Spain was to the front. This is the passage:

"For my own part, and I am sure that I speak the feelings of many besides myself, I would say that,

while earnestly desiring that we should remain upon terms of friendly communion with our sister Church in England, I do not think that the maintenance in every respect of an ecclesiastical identity with that Church, especially in a question of self-government, is so essential to our very existence as some would seem to suppose. On the contrary, I am bold to say that any feeble attempts to link what is called our weakness on to England's strength will only lower us in the eyes of Englishmen and alienate the sympathies of our fellow-countrymen. To ask tremblingly at every step what will English Churchmen think, what will they do, what will they give, if we do not adopt such and such a course, is to my mind a humiliating position for an independent Church to take up.

* * * * *

"We have sprung up from roots of our own—we are not an offshoot of the English Church; we are not, as some would represent us, 'the English Church in Ireland.' We form a Church complete in herself—an ancient national Church, which was in existence as an Irish Church before those Anglo-Saxon times from which the great Anglican Communion, with all its dependencies, derives its very name. Let us, then, have the courage and the wisdom to stand alone; let us cease from clutching at the apron-strings of Anglican connection; and let the word Anglicanism, as describing our faith and practice, be banished from our vocabulary. Long may we remain on terms of the most friendly and affectionate communion with the English Church; long may we treasure in our memories the example set to us by her sainted martyrs; and

long may we prize the precious heritage of Protestant truth which they have bequeathed to us. But, while so doing, let us retain our fellowship with our English sister on the basis of mutual independence, and thereby shall we learn to love and respect each other all the more."

At the end of this same year (1869) Mr. Plunket preached a great sermon in St. Patrick's Cathedral on the subject of "The Church of Ireland a National Church," in which, from his first words—"My fellow-Churchmen and my fellow-countrymen"—to his last appeal to the Irish Church as the representative of the ancient Church of St. Patrick, "Irish to her very core," there breathes the same spirit of patriotism and independence. He always looked forward to the day when the Church of England should share the fate of that of Ireland; and in the course of this sermon he asked, "Is the disestablishment of the English Church so remote a contingency that it is folly to assume its possibility? And are the elements of disruption within that Church so much less dangerous than those within our own? And if not, why should we lean against what may shortly prove to be a tottering wall?"

CHAPTER VI

DISESTABLISHMENT—(CONTINUED)

THE diaries of Canon Venables throw some additional light upon the labours of Mr. Plunket during this anxious period. He was the guest of the latter during part of the autumn of 1869, and several of his notes concerning this visit are of interest.

"On All Saints' Day," he writes, "W. C. P. and I attended the consecration of a new chancel to the old church of Bray, when the Archbishop (Trench) preached a very nice sermon. The Archbishop seemed to me despondent. *Not so Plunket.* He may have had his times of depression and of joy, but his confidence never yielded. Nor, indeed, when it came to a question of yielding, did the Archbishop really flinch. Still, Plunket was ever confident in the welfare of the Church, whether of the West Connaught Endowment Fund, or of the Irish Church Missions, or of the whole Irish Church. It must have been now, I believe, that W. C. P. held meetings at Old Connaught in reference to the future of the disestablished, disendowed, and partly ruined Church of Ireland. . . . . It was at one of these anxious discussions that W. C. P. and I differed strongly upon one important point, in which his nobleness and simplicity shone forth strongly upon a matter which he felt very important, and on which I still believe that I was right. The principle, as regarded the future finance of the Church, was to be that the incomes of the benefices should be as much as possible equal. I took, and

still take, a different view, and I advocated the desirability of securing some 'prizes' in the Church, if any could still exist out of the wreck of confiscated endowments, or if any person or persons should choose to endow one or more benefices as 'prizes' in the future. The idea was not at all favourably received, and W. C. P. was almost indignant at the suggestion. He considered that such benefices had done much harm, and added (I well recollect his declaration), 'I would say "Thy money perish with thee" to anyone proposing to obtain or endow prizes in the Church.'

"His earnest determination in this and in all matters to have pure simplicity, and no temptation to attract men to the ministry by the influence of greed, carried all with him except myself and one or two others.

* * * * *

"On Saturday, November 6, I left Plunket full of anxiety, exceeded, however, as always, by faith and hope, and without any fear that if indeed Christ seemed to be asleep in the vessel, He *was* in the vessel, and that no doubt could exist, with His presence, of the final success of the voyage. But there was much to be done by human agency, and there were fine, noble, Christian, Irish minds to do it. Amongst these Plunket was ever prominent with undoubting faith, continuous hope, unflagging zeal, and most prayerful humility. These were in my judgment his chief characteristics."

The results of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church no doubt affected different minds in different ways. Churchmen of more advanced years and more conservative type, such as Archbishop Trench, were, as has been stated, inclined to despond. Many of the Roman Catholics, who had at first been elate at the prospect, were disappointed at some of the results. Thus, Canon Venables writes that he had a private conversation with a thorough

Irishman and Papist when he was gaining information about Mr. Plunket's work in West Connaught, especially towards Sligo. This man stated that he and all his folk had quite understood that with the spoliation of the Irish Church would come great help to them all, because there would be no tithes to pay. The indignation was great when they found that the tithes would have to be paid the same as ever, only that they would no longer be given to the object to which they had been originally devoted in the name of God. This man even hinted that he wished the tithes, under such circumstances, had not been taken from the Protestant Church. Mr. William Plunket found, of course, that the altered state of affairs seriously affected the interests of the Irish Church missions and the West Connaught Endowment Society. But he did not allow their cause to be abandoned. The latter scheme was to a great extent carried out, and no part of the funds raised was lost to the Church. The work of the former society has gone quietly on, and those who offer themselves for instruction have been provided with teachers. If the methods employed have become slightly more unobtrusive, there is good reason to believe that the results obtained are none the less blessed.

It may be as well at this point to look forward and notice what Mr. Plunket's opinions as to disestablishment became some years afterwards, when he had risen to an eminent position in the Irish Church. Briefly it may be stated that he was more than satisfied with the advantages which he considered to have accrued from the measure. He inherited a full measure of that "charity" which was so eminent a characteristic of

both his father and his mother. To him it was worth almost anything to find it possible to live and work in harmony with his fellow men. He believed that the new conditions of the Church of Ireland conduced greatly to this end. He is reported to have said: "We went through three stages after disestablishment. First, nobody understood anybody else. Then we came to see that there was a mixture of good and evil in other men. Then that we could work with each other in spite of failings." Probably no one contributed more largely to this result than he, with his genial, considerate, tactful disposition.

As time went on and he, as Archbishop of Dublin, had even larger opportunities of observing the effects of disestablishment, his satisfaction seems to have increased. In the *Western Mail* for November 3, 1892, there appeared a lengthy account of an interview with him on the subject. The interviewer describes him as most distinguished-looking, and says that

> "apart from his stature, which is considerably above that of most men who would be described as tall, he is endowed with a remarkable stateliness of bearing which would mark him out in a crowd as no ordinary man. Added to which, there is a certain indefinable charm of manner in which dignity and ease are so blended with kindliness that before being long in his society one recognises what the bond is which so firmly unites the Archbishop with his flock."

In answer to various questions as to the subject on which his opinions were sought, he made the following most interesting statements:

"One of the most trying features of the ordeal of disestablishment was the cruel and at times malignant

criticism which was brought to bear upon the Church. It is not a pleasant thing to be publicly vivisected for the sake of somebody else's good. But so it was with us. It had become a public necessity that, as a State Church, we should be put out of the way. If something were not done, Clerkenwell might be exploded or Manchester filled with rioters! Agitation and intimidation had accomplished what modern statesmen deemed their legitimate ends. They had brought England within measurable distance, if not of civil war, at least of a general blow-up, and they had consequently brought disestablishment 'within the range of practical politics!' But it was most important not to alarm English Churchmen, and so it became necessary to show that the Irish Church was *exceptionally* deserving of such a fate. Every particle of mud in the shape of defamatory scandal that could be scraped up by certain of our assailants was flung at us, and some of it sticks still. . . .

"The wolves were on the track, and had to be satisfied with something. The Irish Church Establishment was rather overweighting the sledge, and so we were thrown out with certain decent expressions of sisterly regret.

"But the wolves have not, in my opinion, done her much permanent harm after all. But it might happen that, having found their first morsel so palatable, they will lick their lips and seek for more. [This was a reference to the proposed disestablishment of the Church in Wales.]

"Apart from slanderous misrepresentations, the Church has suffered much damage by disestablishment. The disappointed prospects of those who entered the

ministry before our disconnection from the State. The miserable incomes of those who have been since appointed to vacant posts. The dependence of a clergyman for his stipend on the precarious and sometimes capricious church offerings of his people, and the consequent imperilling of his independence. The risk of poor and remote parishes being left without the means of grace. The inadequate supply of candidates for holy orders, and the danger lest those who do enter the ministry should socially and intellectually fall short of the standard of the past. These are evils which disestablishment has of necessity brought in its train. *But*

"(1) In the case of remote and thinly populated parishes two or more have been grouped together . . . and I may safely say that, notwithstanding our troubles, there is no single parish, however remote, which has been left without the means of grace.

"(2) The supply of candidates has not been inadequate, because by the grouping of remote parishes the number required to fill the vacancies has been fewer. In the first years of disestablishment the social and intellectual standard of the candidates fell most decidedly below the standard of the past. That, however, was one of the mischiefs which time has removed, and for years past no candidate has been ordained until he has taken his degree and obtained his divinity *testamur*."

Now follows the most important part of the Archbishop's statement:

"When I count up the advantages which have followed disestablishment; when I think of the renewed strength and vitality which our Church has derived from the admission of the laity to an active and responsible participation in her counsels, in the disposition of her patronage, and in the financial department of her work; when I observe the spirit of unity and mutual respect which has been engendered by the ordeal of our common adversity, and the increased loyalty and love which is being daily shown to their mother Church by those who have had to make some sacrifice on her behalf; when I remember, too, the freedom from agrarian complications which our disconnection from all questions of tithe and tithe rent-charge has brought about, and the more favourable attitude as regards our influence upon the surrounding population which we occupy because of our severance from any State connection: when I remember all this counterpoise of advantage which we enjoy in our new and independent position, and when I try to hold the balance evenly and weigh the losses and the gains of the whole, I say boldly and without reserve that, in my opinion at least, the gain outweighs the loss.

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"But, because certain advantages have followed in the train of our disestablishment, that is no reason for subjecting the Church of England or even the Welsh section of our sister Church to the same treatment. For many of the advantages we have gained consist in our extrication from certain difficulties attendant on a form of agrarian and Ultramontane agitation peculiar to Ireland.

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"If, however, the Church in Wales is threatened, as I understand her to be, I hope Welsh Churchmen will not fall into the error which Irish Churchmen fell into —of refusing to believe it possible that disestablishment and disendowment would be carried into effect, or refusing to make terms with the disestablishment party. On the eve of disestablishment in Ireland many strong Churchmen said, 'We will not watch the progress of the Bill; we will not make any treaty with the enemies of our Church—we will have no hand with them whatever in despoiling our Church of her heritage.' That was a mistake, and, but for the influence of one Irish Churchman with Mr. Gladstone, the Church of Ireland might have been treated even worse than it was by the Act of Disestablishment."

This last sentence probably refers to the action of Archdeacon Stopford, who, by means of Canon Venables' friendship with Sir Stephen Glynne, received an invitation to visit Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden, where he remained several days for the purpose of trying to make the spoliation Act as little injurious as possible. The Archdeacon had the wisdom to see that it was too late to try and save the rectory houses, &c. at no sacrifice, so worked for the obtaining of permission (afterwards granted) for the Church to buy back her own property at a moderate sum.

It may be mentioned here that, all through the discussions and negotiations which were so numerous in the troubled years of 1868, 1869, &c., Mr. William

Plunket (as he was then) worked with Archdeacon Stopford in almost entire agreement as to principles, policy, and doctrine.

The publication of the above opinion caused considerable consternation among the Churchmen of Wales. The Bishop of St. Asaph wrote a strong letter to the Archbishop, from which it can be gathered that the latter's statement was published in almost every Welsh paper, and was considered likely to assist the cause of the enemies of the Welsh Church. From the same source it appears that the Archbishop's sentiments were opposed to those of many leading Churchmen in Ireland. This is not improbable, for it must always be remembered that his mind was never that of a mere ecclesiastic, but that his Whig training and inherited legal instincts would be sure to make him view disestablishment from a somewhat different standpoint from that of many of his fellow-Churchmen.

One thing about the disestablishment Mr. William Plunket felt keenly. The attitude of English Churchmen after the spoliation of the Irish Church astonished and hurt him sorely. He spoke and wrote on frequent occasions of what he considered the determination of the great majority of the members of the Church of England to remain in utter ignorance of the true state and position of the Church of Ireland. His strong patriotism has already been noticed, and when there was added a feeling that Englishmen would not take the trouble to understand the Irish standpoint and surroundings, but were inclined to patronise, and in the case of the extreme High Church party to insult and to attempt to bully their sister Church, it is no matter

of surprise that the genial, kindly prelate showed signs of occasional indignation. Especially was this the case in the matter of the revision of the Prayer-book, about which there will be more to say presently.

Canon Venables, his chief friend among English Churchmen, writes as follows :

" He felt very keenly any attack made upon the Irish Church. . . . . Remarks of my own in *Church Bells* he even sometimes regarded as hardly fair towards the Church of Ireland in some of her acts after disestablishment, and, while not willing to allow that I was altogether wrong, I quite felt that his scathing criticisms upon the frequent writings in English Church newspapers against the Church of Ireland were thoroughly deserved.

"The stolid indifference towards her, after the confiscation Act came into force, shown by the Church of England astonished me greatly. I thought that the Sunday in January 1871, when it took effect, would be a day on which every church in England would have sent the despoiled sister a loving offering to aid her in her anguish. This was proposed, but it came to nothing. I believe that the complaint made by Archbishop Plunket (as he afterwards was) of the ignorance of the English people touching the difficulties of the position of the sister Church can alone account for the apathy with which she has been treated. It may be that many would prefer to see her develop rather higher Church principles than she does. But if there be ground for this (which I will not wholly deny), it affords no reason or excuse for the cold neglect so often exhibited towards her on this side the Channel. . . . Lord Plunket strove hard in every way to hinder what could become a source of needless and terribly harmful disputations. His wise counsels have done much, I am persuaded, in the settlement of the constitution of the Irish Church, to prevent such sad brawls and disturbances and sources of anxiety as often perplex and hinder good Church work here in England."

In 1871 the third Baron Plunket died, and was

succeeded by his eldest son, William Conyngham, fourth baron. In this same year the latter suffered from a good deal of ill-health, which fact, as well as his chagrin at the treatment of his Church by English writers, comes out in the following letters to Canon Venables.

"OLD CONNAUGHT HOUSE, BRAY,
"*May* 15, 1871.

"MY DEAR VENABLES,

"I have just received a copy of *Church Bells* with your handwriting on the address, which shows me that you remember an old friend who, believe me, does not forget either you or yours. I have had my anxieties and trials and changes since I last wrote, but, thank God, I and mine are well and have much for which to be grateful. I do hope that you and yours are also well. I have only just left my room, having been laid up for nearly a fortnight with a painful but not dangerous illness. The doctors say it was brought on by overwork, and are very imperious about my taking some rest. Having enlisted my wife on their side, I suppose they will succeed.

"As to our Irish Church; — truly you poor Anglicans, if I am to judge from the *Guardian*, and, let me add, *Church Bells*, do suffer from the usual impenetrable ignorance of our real position, requirements, and even of our *actual proceedings*.

"I read an article the other day in the *Guardian* charging the Irish Church with extravagant and fanatical exclusiveness because a measure was proposed in the Synod by an individual member, which the *Guardian* presumed to be expressive of the opinion

of the Irish Church, and yet in the very same article it admitted that this measure was rejected by a majority of 222 in an assembly numbering 292 ! ! !

"When will you English judge us fairly ? Just fancy D'Israeli assuming that because another of our members of Synod spoke impertinently of the Archbishop, that therefore he (the Archbishop) was even morally 'excommunicated and tabooed' amongst us. Why, that member's following in the Synod amounts to about twelve men in all, as was proved by a division the other day, when just that number followed him into the lobby. But I see it is hopeless. . .

"It *is* strange how Englishmen whose principal characteristic is independence and self-respect, and who are always abusing us for our want of self-reliance, are yet so indignant with us the moment we begin to act and think for ourselves, threatening us with the fearful danger of alienating English sympathy and severing ourselves from English union. With the exception of a few good and true men like yourself, I'd like to know where English sympathy is to be found. Not, certainly, in your High Church members of Convocation, who attended in the vast number of *fourteen* in that assembly on the day that the question of sympathy with the Irish Church was to come before them ! . . .

"However, we are no children. We know very well what we are about. . . .

"Yours very sincerely,

"PLUNKET."

The second letter, written soon afterwards, runs as follows :

"OLD CONNAUGHT HOUSE, BRAY,
"*June* 1, 1871.

"MY DEAR VENABLES,

* * * * *

"I must apologise for my delay in acknowledging your remittance,* but since I received it many things, as you know, have occurred to interrupt my correspondence. First my father's illness and death, and then my own ill-health. . . .

"Some changes will have to be made in our society in order to adapt it to the altered circumstances of the Church, but I trust it may yet serve for many years as a channel through which help may be given to the poorer districts of West Connaught, where the voluntary system could not be expected to provide for the wants of the people. With kind regards to Mrs. Venables and all your party,

"Yours very sincerely,

"PLUNKET."

The ignorance and misapprehension on the part of English Churchmen of which Lord Plunket complains in the first of these letters was the subject of a portion of the address delivered by him at the Stoke Church Congress in 1875. It will be remembered that on three occasions before the Irish disestablishment he, with others of his countrymen, had been invited to address the Church Congress on the affairs of the Church of Ireland. This was the first time *since* the disestablishment that, as he said at the conclusion of his address, "an Irish Churchman had been invited, in

* For West Connaught Endowment Fund.

a generous and brotherly spirit, to give information respecting his Church to an English Congress." It was an occasion that required all his courage, all his generosity, all his "superb temper," all his eloquence; and right well did he make use of his gifts. He concealed nothing; he yielded nothing; and as he stood there, with all the dignity of his handsome presence and all the persuasiveness of his voice and polished diction, he made a profound impression upon the crowd of Englishmen to whom he spoke. Some portions of his paper must be quoted here, that it may be clearly understood what it was that in his opinion English Churchmen failed to comprehend.

After stating that so long as the two Churches of England and Ireland remained as they were—the one a voluntary, the other a State Church—the tie of rigid uniformity must, he thought, be regarded as severed beyond repair; he pointed out that there were ties which could not be drawn more closely, because they were already drawn so closely as to admit of no further tension. This he believed to be true of intercommunion. One of the first acts of the Irish Church when separated from the State was to put on record in the solemn declaration prefixed to her statutes her resolve to maintain communion as before with the Church of England.

He then proceeded:

"But it is vain to conceal that there is another tie which has never perhaps been strained to the full, and which of late years has, I fear, been allowed to become even somewhat more lax. I refer to the tie of sympathy. Upon this subject I would venture to

speak with boldness. For, though I know that I stand almost alone this day amoug the members of another Church, I have such trust in the fair-play and goodwill of those whom I address that I fear not to lose the respect of any one here present by stating frankly that which I believe in my heart to be true. And with this confidence I now say unreservedly that the English Church as a body has not, as it seems to me, extended to her Irish sister in the hour of her sore trial that amount of sympathy for which under the circumstances she might have fairly looked.

* * * * *

"The withholding of sympathy on the part of many whose good opinion Irish Churchmen would dearly prize has been mainly due, as I believe, not to prejudice, still less to ill-will, but to grievous misapprehensions as to what is really the truth concerning the acts and motives of our Church. In order to tighten again the loosened cords of love and thus to draw the two Churches more closely together, all that is required is to make the truth more widely known; for Irish Churchmen on the one hand have nothing to conceal, and English Churchmen on the other will gladly learn the truth, even though in so doing they should have to cast many a long-cherished preconception to the winds.

* * * * *

"Well do I remember, at the time when the fate of the Irish Church Establishment was still hanging in the balance, what strange misapprehensions were current respecting the supposed Presbyterian tendencies of the Irish Church. . . .

"Either the order of bishops would be abolished by the Irish Convention, or Irish Churchmen, no longer attracted by the financial advantages of a State Church, would soon leave it for the more congenial atmosphere of non-episcopal communities. And yet the very event that was to confirm these anticipations has served to dispel them. Almost the first act of the General Convention was to declare by unanimous consent that the Church of Ireland would ever preserve inviolate the three orders of the ministry; and, so far from the Church having lost ground by secessions to Presbyterianism, the loss, so far as I can learn, has been altogether on the other side."

He then referred to a third misapprehension already mentioned—viz., that the Irish bishops would be subject to disrespect. Having shown how minute was the party from whom anything of the kind could be feared, he added that from his perusal of various English papers he could confidently affirm that bishops in Ireland met on the whole with a larger amount of genuine respect than bishops in England, and that the Archbishop of Dublin, to whom reference had been made, in comparison with some of his brethren on the English bench was reclining on a bed of roses.

A fourth misconception was the description of the religion of Irish Churchmen as merely negative and political Protestantism. This was refuted by the fact that after the heavy blow they had sustained, mainly due to their Roman Catholic enemies, they had abstained in a remarkable manner from vindictive or offensive recrimination.

Then, again, he said :

"Was it not also expected that party spirit within the Church would lead to dismal results ? Was it not openly predicted that the General Synod would revive the dying memories of Donnybrook Fair, and repeat in history the famous combat of the Kilkenny cats, whose tails alone remained upon the battlefield to witness to the deadliness of their strife ? And yet the English *Guardian*, when commenting on their first General Convention, took special occasion to notice as a marked feature in its debates that they were almost wholly free from personalities—that there was an entire absence of anything like party leadership, and that each question was dealt with solely on its own merits."

One other misapprehension he noticed—namely, the rather selfish fear expressed by some that a flood of Irish deputations would spread over all England soliciting alms for an impoverished Church. So far as he knew, not one such deputation had left the shores of Ireland. An English committee was indeed nobly engaged in an endeavour to raise funds on behalf of the Irish Church, and at the request of that committee some Irish Churchmen had consented (often reluctantly) to plead the cause of their Church in this country. Irishmen had, in a spirit of independence and self-sacrifice, shown a desire to rely, with God's help, upon their own efforts and their own liberality, rather than upon the goodwill and long purses of their friends.

After thus disposing of the various misapprehensions, Lord Plunket proceeded to deal with the question of

Prayer-book revision, which is a matter that must be postponed to the next chapter.

His marvellous optimism is clearly seen in the hopeful spirit with which he spoke of the clearing away of misunderstandings and the more sympathetic relations that might ensue between the sister Churches of Ireland and England. He for his part never seems to have thoroughly realised the absolutely different point of view of the Churchmen of the two countries. So familiar was he, from the surroundings of his daily life and work, with some of the most repellent sides of Roman Catholicism, that it was difficult for him to understand the view of those English Churchmen who entertained no fears of Rome (since they never came in contact with her teaching), much less of those whose sympathies were openly rather with the Church of Rome than with any reformed Church, even the one to which they belonged. It is not the province of this memoir to examine into the question of which side was more in the right, but it is clear that the expectation of sympathy existing to any great extent between the two Churches, the one finding her work daily made difficult by the close proximity of Roman influence, the other indifferent to or in some cases attracted by the same influence, was almost beyond hope.

Before finally disposing of the subject of disestablishment, some remarks contributed by a former chaplain of Archbishop Plunket must find a place. They throw a strong light upon the remarkable influence he was able to bring to bear upon the various opposing parties in the Church of Ireland:

"'It is better to have built a dog-hutch than to have planned a palace,' as Carlyle has told us. Lord Plunket's native power for making the best of things amounted to a considerable amount of *constructive* ability. He had much contempt for destructive criticism, and a genuine admiration for a man, young or old, who could originate a plan and carry it out. This constructive side of his mind was shown by his love of building, of planting trees, landscape gardening, &c. In 1869 his opportunity came with the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Ireland. By birth and temperament a Whig, this measure did not strike him with the horror and indignation which it inspired among his Conservative contemporaries and friends. What he thought of the measure at the time I can only conjecture. He lived to see that it had proved an untold blessing to the Church, and to say in private that disestablishment alone could restore the laity to their rightful position in the government of the Church of England. How the measure was received by the majority of Church people I can best illustrate by a recollection of my own childhood. I was a small boy at the time, and I can well remember my childish and of course unexpressed exultation at the prospect that I should never 'have to go to church' again! My uncle was one of the most active of the Irish laity in his opposition to the measure, and, when the blow fell, became equally active in the work of reorganisation. He has told me that for three years he worked *without hope* that the Church could possibly hold together. Those dark days taught the best of our Evangelical clergy and laity that there is such a thing as the Church. . . . We have learned that we are Churchmen as well as Protestants. . . . Mr. Plunket (as he then was) was a powerful instrument in the great work of reconstruction. In 1869 he was at the age of forty years, when a man begins to feel his powers and to realise what his work must be. He had regained his health. His recent marriage had given him unlooked-for wealth, and all the influence which wealth gives, especially in a poor country like Ireland. He was devoted to his wife and his wife to him. Children were born to him. His father and

mother were still living, and he was heir to his father's title. He was surrounded by much love. His numerous relatives loved and respected him greatly. He had a happy childhood and a godly youth to look back upon, and he was by nature full of hope. Further, he had the great gift of popularity.

"By disestablishment and disendowment the ancient 'aristocratic' Church of Ireland was thrown into the melting-pot—the crucible of democracy. . . . With this democracy Mr. Plunket was, by his hereditary Whiggism, better prepared to cope than most of his contemporaries. He had never lived in a 'clerical atmosphere.' [His uncle, the Bishop of Tuam, was more "secular" than most bishops, so that W. C. P.'s residence with him as chaplain does not contradict this assertion.] He had mixed much with his fellow men, and was therefore better able than the majority of clergy to understand their wants and aims. His convictions were Protestant, while his Liberalism saved him from the bigotry of many of his friends. The Protestant party had a strong majority in the early Synods: the laity were nearly twice as numerous as the clergy, and a lay 'High-Churchman' was a *rara avis*. The strength of the party lay, however, not in a few noisy fanatics so much as in some of the saintly elder clergy and a knot of godly laymen, chief amongst whom was the able and pious lawyer, Master Brooke. On the other—the Conservative and clerical—side stood, *facile princeps*, the scholar-poet Archbishop Trench, wholly incapable of understanding the 'new democracy,' half broken-hearted at what seemed to him the downfall of the Church, and aghast at the prospect of the revision of the venerable Prayer-book by such a gathering as the General Synod. On the same side were the then Primate (Beresford), the Bishop of Derry (Alexander), the Bishop of Limerick (Graves), and others.

"Between this extreme right and the extreme left, already mentioned, stood the moderates, containing, as usual, the ablest intellects of all. The greatest man in the Synod was the present Provost of Trinity College. . . . Another of the ablest men was the Bishop of Killaloe (Fitzgerald), the friend and

chaplain of Archbishop Whateley, who did more than any other man to impress upon the reorganised Church of Ireland the 'common-sense' theology of his great master. . . . It is hardly necessary to say that it was with the moderates that Mr. Plunket had most affinity. He was looked on—and looked on himself—as an Evangelical, but his true *rôle* was that of a peacemaker. . . . Then and afterwards he 'laboured for peace.' He had considerable power of lucid expression, and was famous for his ability in drawing up 'amendments.' . . . His best work was quiet private influence as a 'go-between.'"

CHAPTER VII

PRAYER-BOOK REVISION

ONE of the points round which the fiercest controversy raged in the years immediately succeeding the disestablishment of the Irish Church was the proposed revision of the Prayer-book. In the thick of the discussions Lord Plunket was ever to be found, but working invariably to allay strife and avoid divisions. He was strongly of opinion that the question was intimately bound up with that of home reunion, a cause on behalf of which he showed equal ardour. He was never tired of urging concessions and compromise, and he put out more than one pamphlet during the years 1871–1874 to explain his views. He also published a sermon preached by him in St. Patrick's Cathedral on the text, "With one mind striving together for the faith of the Gospel." His object was to consider how Church unity should best be preserved in their crisis of difficulty and danger. One of the chief points of which he treated was the work of liturgical revision. It had been stated that this was in itself inconsistent with the maintenance of unity, especially so far as the relationship of the Irish Church to that of England was concerned. In answer to this he pointed out that it was not until the Synod

of Cashel in 1172 (700 years after the foundation of the Church of Ireland) that there was conformity in all divine rites between the two Churches upon condition that State protection should be given the Irish Church in the collection of tithes and other dues. This unity was further confirmed by the Act of Union of 1800; but both the original covenant and the Parliamentary union were dissolved by the Irish Church Act which deprived the Irish Church of the protection of the State. There was, therefore, no breach of an existing covenant, since the terms upon which the covenant was based had been abolished. He then pointed out that divergence in liturgical forms had never been asserted to be inconsistent with unity, instancing the fact that in the Church of Rome almost every province had its separate liturgy or sacramentary, that in the Church of England before the Reformation various dioceses (*e.g.*, Salisbury and Hereford) used separate formularies, and that in the American Church revision of the Prayer-book had taken place without destroying the respect and affection of the mother Church, as was witnessed by the visit of Bishop Selwyn and Dean Howson to the General Convention of the American Church.

A striking example of his endeavour on all occasions to promote unity is found in the history of the excitement caused in the Irish Church early in 1870 by what may be described as the "Maberley correspondence." This consisted of published letters between a Mr. Maberley and the Archbishop of Dublin (Trench). The former wrote to complain of a certain little book called "Short Prayers, &c. for those who have but little time to pray."

It had been given by some of the clergy to the younger members of their flocks, and contained passages which were strongly objected to by the ultra-Protestant party, but which are common enough in High Church manuals and were not condemned by the Archbishop. The latter, for instance, expressed his opinion that the reference to the real presence in the Holy Communion did not go beyond the teaching of Hooker, adding that if it had he should not approve. The strife grew bitter: protests on either side were signed and presented; numberless letters were written to the Press; excited meetings of partisans were held. At this juncture Mr. William Plunket (as he then was) interposed with an admirable letter to the *Morning Mail*. After entreating his brother clergy to pause before taking any step which would tend to precipitate disunion in their Church at that most critical juncture, he went on to show that the Archbishop, from his letter and his reference to Hooker,* clearly did not sympathise with the sacramentarian views condemned by those who signed the protest against the book. That, further, his Grace gave expression to words of large-hearted sympathy with those who belonged to the dissenting communities, and spoke as one who longed and hoped for union. He went on to express his own dislike and distrust of the manual, "but," he said, "in the name of justice let us shrink from making our protest in such a way as to identify with the propagation of fatal errors a prelate who is beloved and respected

* Hooker, v. ch. 67 (6): "The real presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is not, therefore, to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament."

by all who know him, and who, though he may not think in every respect as we do, does not (as his letter clearly shows) sympathise with such extreme views as those which we condemn. Further, in the name of peace let us hesitate before, at the present crisis, we make ourselves responsible for the disruption of our Church. . . . . If there be alterations which we think ought to be made in our standards and formularies, let the whole Church approach the subject in a calm and dispassionate spirit as one united body, *when the right time comes.*"

In the General Synod of the Irish Church the question had been plainly asked of its members, "Do you desire revision at the present time; or, if you do not desire it for yourselves, do you think it desirable for the sake of the peace and unity of the Church?" The answer was embodied in the following resolution, which was unanimously passed at the close of a lengthened debate. "Resolved: that, in the opinion of this Synod, the time has arrived for entering upon a complete revision of the formularies of the Church of Ireland in a cautious and reverent spirit; and that the bishops, together with certain representative members to be named by the Synod, be therefore requested to consider the whole subject of revision, and report upon it to the Synod of 1872."

Lord Plunket served upon the Revision Committee thus formed, and expressed his opinion that, after the passing of the above resolution, to withhold revision would be fatal to the peace and unity of the Church of Ireland.

Here are his own words as to the nature of the revision which he considered necessary:

"A merely superficial revision, consisting of alterations in the Lectionary, of the abbreviation of old or the introduction of new services, or of any such like unimportant changes, would only exasperate those whose confidence we seek to gain. On the other hand, sweeping and intolerant changes might impose burdens on the consciences of many for whom no course would lie open but secession from a Church which they would otherwise love to serve. If we are to avoid so great disasters, there must be a self-sacrificing resolve on all hands to make concessions for the sake of the common good. He that objects to revision may perhaps say, 'I am willing that matters should remain as they are: I do not ask for change. These formularies are dear to me, and if they be tampered with I have the power of keeping aloof from such a work of revolution and of remaining in the old paths by simply regarding myself no longer as a member of the Irish Church, but as a member of the Anglican Church—a Church which may possibly soon have her chapels in this land.'

"But, again, can we not imagine the case of one who has long been looking forward to the possibility of a thorough work of revision, and who now sees the opportunity before him of purging the Prayer-book of everything which seems to him to fall short of that perfection which he longs for in the formularies of our Church? He feels, too, that he is one of a majority in the General Synod, who, if they put forth all their strength, could attain all that they themselves desired.

"Is not the temptation to refuse any compromise a strong one? Is there no concession demanded here?"

These words are clear evidence that Lord Plunket's desire was to obtain such revision as should insure unity among the members of the Church of Ireland. It is, then, with some surprise that the changes which he himself advocated in committee are observed. These changes strike deadly blows at doctrines which are of vast importance, as well as at observances which are of little. In some instances, as will be noticed, he seemed to think that the change proposed would leave the matter indeterminate, but this will hardly be the opinion of the unbiassed reader. The main alterations proposed by Lord Plunket, or, if not proposed, strongly advocated by him, were as follows:

(i.) The omission of what is known as the "Ornaments Rubric" immediately before the Order for Morning Prayer.

This Lord Plunket considered it would be their "solemn duty" to secure.

(ii.) The insertion in the Communion Service of an explanation as to what is meant by "the North Side of the Table," and a direction that no clergyman "should kneel during the Prayer of Consecration, or bow at any other time towards the Table, or make the sign of the Cross, or introduce any similar novelties, either symbolically dangerous or tending to assimilate our services to those of the Romish Church."

As a comment on this Lord Plunket says:

"If we check the introduction of ritualistic *prac-*

tices, we go a far way to guard against the introduction of false *doctrine*. . . . Some weeds must be rooted up if we are to get rid of them at all; but there are others which die if we cut down all that appears above the ground."

There is evidence in the above proposal of the hopelessness of any sympathy between the Ritualistic party in England and a party of which one of the chief spokesmen thus deliberately refuses any concessions towards a better understanding with the Church of Rome.

(iii.) In the Baptismal Service, to omit all such words as "Seeing now . . . that this infant is regenerate," and "that it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant," and to substitute other forms in which the expression "being born again" should occur.

This was one of Lord Plunket's attempts at compromise. He was of opinion that, as the phrase "being born again" determines only that the new birth must be a necessary antecedent to that continuance in God's service and attainment of God's promise for which prayer is made, and does not determine whether or not that new birth must be antecedent to the offering up of the prayer, a solution of the difficulty had been found and the very question left open which he trusted all would agree to leave open.

This alteration was proposed in order to give relief to the minds of those who believe that regeneration may take place *before*, as well as *in* or *after*, the act of baptism; but the fact of making the alteration at all removed it, in the minds of many, from the region of compromise.

(iv.) In the Service for the Ordination of Priests, to alter the indicative form, "Receive the Holy Ghost," to the precatory form, "Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, grant unto thee the gift of the Holy Ghost," and to omit the words, "whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained."

Lord Plunket's definitely stated reasons for desiring these changes were that they would remove certain expressions which were undoubtedly the innovations of mediæval times, and would bring the office into more close conformity with the primitive model; that the expressions referred to were introduced into the Ordinal simultaneously with the final development of the "confessional" in the Church of Rome; and thirdly, that these expressions had been made use of in recent times as a vantage ground whereon to build up a doctrine of absolution similar to that of the Romish Church.

Fears were expressed lest the position of present and future clergymen of the Church of Ireland would be affected injuriously by any alteration of the Ordination Service. To these fears Lord Plunket replied that, if any young men were afraid lest their chance of preferment in the Church of England would be injured, let them go and get their orders from an English bishop and at once take up their position in an English diocese. He did not want men with a half-hearted attachment to the Church of their fathers and a wistful longing for better prospects in the sister Church of England.

But, apart from this, the question had been referred to Mr. William Graham Brooke, the eminent barrister,

who conclusively showed that all these fears as to the power of an English bishop to refuse institution to an Irish clergyman if ordained under the form of an altered Ordinal were altogether without foundation. Two letters written during the anxious days of the discussions on revision show, the one Lord Plunket's strong liberality of sentiment, the other his gift of promoting unity in the midst of discord:

[*To Lady Plunket.*]

"4 MERRION SQUARE NORTH, DUBLIN,
"*May* 11, 1876.

"We have had disappointing days in the Synod. Yesterday a motion brought forward by W— D—, which ought to have been carried, was defeated by a small minority of the Synod; and to-day 44 clergymen and 7 laymen (as against 66 clergymen and 103 laymen) defeated an attempt which some of us were making to allow a poor unbaptized infant to be buried with some other burial than that of a dog! Oh, the cruel rigidity of that sacramental system that, for the sake of exalting the outward ordinance, outrages and violates the heaven-born instinct that God has implanted in every breast! I assure you I could have wept to think that 51 out of 220 members of the Synod should have had the power to stamp this disgrace upon our Church."

[*To the same.*]

"4 MERRION SQUARE NORTH,
"*Friday, May* 12, 1876.

"The Synod is actually over!! Hurrah!!! I

managed to get a clause inserted into the Preface without a division, contrary to the expectation of all, this morning. It was not a matter of much importance, but the Preface would have been maimed and incomplete without it; and all who, on each extreme side, were opposed to the completion of revision were bitterly hostile. However, I thought of a form of words to catch all sides while I was dressing, and got it printed off before 12 o'clock at the printer's, and produced it in Synod; and, wonderful to say, it was passed, contrary to my own and my friends' expectation. I know you are glad to hear of your old husband's success even in a trifling matter, so I don't mind reporting it to you."

One further important change Lord Plunket advocated, both by pamphlet and by word of mouth—viz., the omission of what are known as the "damnatory clauses" in the Athanasian Creed. On this point he probably received a good deal more sympathy from members of the Church of England than on any of the others. On investigating the part played by Lord Plunket in this, and in many other matters in which he was interested, it is impossible not to be amazed at the vast number of pamphlets which he put forth. The cost must have been considerable, the time and labour expended upon them immense. Upon every subject he took up, and in the various forms of sermons, lectures, statements, and letters, often treating of the same matter in several of these forms, he must have been continually correcting proofs and for ever posting his pamphlets to the various quarters of the

Christian world. After reading many of these upon the revision question, with his arguments stated so clearly and so cogently, and with the knowledge of the work and influence that he brought to bear upon the matter, it is almost a surprise to take up the Prayer-book of the Church of Ireland to-day, and to find how very few changes have been made from that of the English Church.

There are, of course, the unimportant differences demanded by the special circumstances of the country, such as the insertion of the prayer for the Lord Lieutenant. There are also to be noticed the provision of an extra collect, epistle, and gospel for Christmas and Easter, for use at second celebrations of the Holy Communion, and many other minor matters.

But of the extremely important proposals of which mention has been made hardly any were carried out. The Ornaments Rubric has disappeared, and the Absolution occurring in the Communion Service has taken the place of that in the Visitation of the Sick, and at the beginning of the Baptismal Service the words, "Except a man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of God, and also saith, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God," are substituted for the words in the English Service, "None can enter . . . Holy Ghost," though the crucial words proposed by Lord Plunket for alteration, immediately after the act of baptism, remain unchanged. But these are practically all. Other matters were no doubt dealt with to some extent in the new canons framed by the Irish Church, but the revision of the actual Prayer-book resulted in

less change than was expected. However, Lord Plunket's object was attained. What he really wanted more than anything else was unity in the Irish Church. This was obtained, and has been preserved in a remarkable manner, partly, no doubt, by the fact that extreme ritualists were unable to accept the new canons, but chiefly by the fact that the revision of the Prayer-book, as well as the new canons and constitution, was acceptable to the various parties of a Church which, set in the midst of Romanism, is bound to be as a whole a Protestant Evangelical Church. It succeeded in drawing those parties nearer together, and did a great deal to prove that Lord Plunket was right when he urged, as he so often did, that unity and revision were not incompatible. "The members of our Church," he said, "will have a Prayer-book which, instead of kindling contention, will serve as a common bond of brotherhood."

CHAPTER VIII

REUNION

THE subject of the last chapter makes it almost unavoidable that Lord Plunket's efforts in the direction of reunion should next be considered. Although some of his most important utterances and most arduous work for this cause belong to a later date in his career, yet, as has been seen, the longing for Christian unity was very strong in him from early days, and he frequently wrote and spoke in furtherance thereof while he was still Precentor of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

One of his reasons for taking a more cheerful view of the results of disestablishment was that he believed that it tended towards a closer union between the Protestants of Ireland. In spite of his optimism, he was never sanguine enough to look forward, as some did, to a general union of all Irish Protestants. He believed that the position of the Church as a *State* Church had prevented many from joining her. He believed also that the close connection which had formerly existed between the Church of Ireland and that of England had been a grave objection to many Protestants, who had been alarmed at the ritualistic tendencies of a section of the latter body. He also

thought that many Presbyterians had been discouraged from making approaches to the Church by the fact that the laity had under the former state of things been practically excluded from any part in her government.

With the removal of these obstacles his hopes of reunion were greatly increased. There was still one matter which he feared. The General Convention had determined that the bishops should have a leading and presiding part in the General Synod which was to form the legislative body of the Church in the future. Would this fact deter the extreme opponents of episcopacy from all thought of joining the Church even under her altered circumstances? It is interesting to observe the position he took up on this point, bearing in mind that he was to occupy such positions as Bishop of Meath and Archbishop of Dublin in the near future. In 1870 he wrote as follows:

"When I look back to the lives and writings of such men as Ussher, Leighton, and Burnet, and find that many of the Presbyterians of those days—even when smarting under cruel wrongs happily unknown in our times—were not opposed to an un-Prelatical form of Episcopacy, and were ready to accede to a fixed Presidency of Bishops, provided it were conjoined with a system of Synodical action very much the same as that which we now possess, I cannot help believing that a similar readiness to sink minor differences, for the sake of brotherly union amongst Protestants, must exist at the present day in the minds of many moderate men."

In the course of the same address he alluded to a question which is of special interest at the present day, when the subject of a Roman Catholic University for Ireland has been so recently discussed. As might be supposed, Mr. Plunket vehemently opposed any such idea. His desire for unity and his liberal mind caused him, however, to declare that it was the duty of Irish Churchmen to show a patriotic interest in the assertion of the spiritual liberties of their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen by protesting against any system of purely denominational education which could place in the hands of an Ultramontane hierarchy the sole control over the secular teaching of the lay members of the Church of Rome. For that reason he was cordially in favour of admitting Romanists to Trinity College, Dublin, but he adds that one of his strongest reasons was the fear lest any other course should "precipitate the endowment and recognition by the State of a Roman Catholic institution, which, under the name of a quasi-secular education, would, as he believed, and as many Roman Catholic laymen believed, quench free thought and poison the fountains of truth by its Ultramontane influences."

The subject of reunion was continually in his thoughts and prayers, and controlled many of the actions of his busy life during the years that followed. It is impossible here to follow in detail all the work that he performed in this direction, but, when Archbishop of Dublin, he delivered more than one forcible address on this question, to which allusion must be made.

He was naturally extremely interested in the fact that

there was a simultaneous movement in England in the same direction, and in a speech which he made at the Dublin Christian Convention in September 1887 he thus alluded to that fact:

"Many of you are doubtless acquainted with an ably-conducted English paper called *Church Bells*, and have read in it the articles published from week to week by a godly layman of the English Church—Lord Nelson—containing utterances on the part of Episcopalians and non-Episcopalians, all of them tending in the same direction, all of them expressive of a yearning for further unity. Anyone who has studied these articles must, I think, admit that as regards this desire for unity the present age is altogether exceptional."

He then referred to the words of the Bishop of Winchester (Harold Browne), who, in presiding over the annual meeting of the Home Reunion Society, said that the matter was "never for a day entirely out of his mind." He went on to describe efforts towards the same end which had been made in Australia, and then asked the great meeting which he was addressing, "Are the Christians of Ireland alone to sit still and fold their hands?"

Fusion he believed to be impossible here below, but for *federation* he earnestly pleaded. Finally, he made use of that word which his special work for reunion made famous, *fraternisation*. "We can all," he said, "acknowledge one another as brethren even now."

A copy of this speech he forwarded to Lord Nelson, receiving in reply the following letter:

"THE LODGE, PARKSTONE,
"*Oct.* 23, 1887.

"MY DEAR LORD PLUNKET,

"I am much obliged by a copy of your address, and for your kind reference to me and to the Home Reunion Society. I feel with you the importance of considering the reunion of *all* Christians, notwithstanding the present apparent impossibilities of doing anything with the Ultramontanes, and I go with you entirely in all Christian courtesies towards our Protestant Nonconformists. But I believe the interchange of pulpits will do no real good. It will either damage our position before Christendom as holding true orders, or will be a sham and not really satisfy the nonconforming ministers. I thank you for the material help your paper has given, and rejoice at being able to reckon on your heartfelt prayers and longing for reunion, whenever it may please God to bring it about. However long it may be of accomplishment, I cannot but feel that a very great call has gone out to all of us to do more than we have ever done before to secure the fulfilment of our Lord's prayer for unity, and to remove the many evils and hindrances caused by our present divisions.

"Yours very truly,

"NELSON."

In the following year (1888) the Lambeth Conference met, and the question of reunion was referred to a committee of seventeen bishops under the presidency of the Bishop of Sydney (Barry). This committee reported that in their opinion the time had already come for some action to be taken in the matter. They laid down as fundamental articles of agreement the following four points: (1) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as containing all things necessary to salvation. (2) The Apostles' Creed as the baptismal symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the suffi-

cient statement of the Christian faith. (3) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself. (4) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church.

Lord Plunket made the report of this committee the text for his remarks at the Dublin Christian Convention of 1888. He rejoiced over the tokens of encouragement which the reception of these terms of unity had met with from the leading members of other denominations in America, and especially from an eminent Presbyterian clergyman, who wrote an article on the Historic Episcopate in which he congratulated the Anglican Church on the concessions she was willing to make on behalf of unity.

Lord Plunket was evidently much cheered by the various signs of encouragement, but he reiterated his opinion that fraternisation was the main point for the present, and that the time for corporate reunion had not come.

One of the most striking speeches he ever made upon this subject was at the morning clerical meeting held in the Metropolitan Hall, Dublin, in April 1890. He repeated all his old arguments with renewed cogency, and made a strong point of the resolutions passed by the Lambeth Conference committee and by the Conference itself. This speech called forth various comments from leading Churchmen in England. Of these the most important were an article in the *Church Quarterly* and a private letter from Lord Nelson. The writer in the *Church Quarterly* began by stating that thanks were due to Lord Plunket for starting the

subject, and that, while he should be sorry to trust to his (the Archbishop's) sole hands the interests of the Church in a reunion congress, yet there would evidently be room and use for his kindly and Christian spirit to soften the collision between minds of more definite doctrine. The writer went on to point out that, while reunion with the Church of Rome seems impossible save at the sacrifice of principle, it was an obvious truth (which he implied that Lord Plunket failed to see) that it would be a great misfortune if a reunion conference included none who understood and viewed with charity the religion of Rome. Again, the writer did not think Lord Plunket prudent in deriving comfort for those who regarded non-episcopal orders as valid or half-valid from the resolution of the committee of the Lambeth Conference to that effect, combined with the fact that, while the report was not accepted, the Conference made no declaration against it. The rejection of the resolution, with the insertion of the claims of the historic episcopate among the necessary bases of reunion, were, in the writer's opinion, as strong an intimation of its judgment as the Conference could well have made. Something of this sort was probably the conclusion to which a large portion of the Church of England arrived on the subject. It is noteworthy that in this case Lord Plunket made the same mistake which he made in the case of the Lambeth Conference's action regarding the Spanish question, of which much will be said hereafter. In both cases his extreme hopefulness led him to believe that silence meant consent, when it was probably intended to mean exactly the reverse.

Lord Nelson's letter was as follows :

"TRAFALGAR, SALISBURY,
"*June* 4, 1890.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I am much obliged by your address on Home Reunion. The only difference between us is that I could not accept any reunion as complete that did not embrace the old Eastern and Western Churches, and that I look to a reunion with them as quite as possible as with the Protestant Nonconformists. I need not say that I do not mean by reunion submission to Rome's exaggerated claims, which would equally exclude reunion with the Eastern Church. I have not the same dread as Protestants have of what is called sacerdotalism; but neither the Roman nor the Anglican priests mean by that claim what they are supposed by many to mean, but would be the first to denounce with the Protestant those exaggerated claims which they are supposed to hold in the matter. They do not deny the priesthood of the laity. They simply act on our behalf, and minister to us not in their own power, but as the representatives and mouthpiece of our Risen and Ascended Lord.

"Yours very truly,

"NELSON."

From these letters and papers it can clearly be seen that Lord Plunket was far too optimistic on the whole subject. Those who were working for reunion in England had in many instances set their affection on reunion with Rome, and were striving so far as possible to assimilate their services, &c., with those of the Roman Church, while the very name "Protestant" was an offence to them; and at the same time Lord Plunket and his party were striving for a Protestant reunion, and fought extremely shy of any approach to a good understanding with the Papacy. It is remark-

able to find that any real hope of reunion could be based on operations which much more strongly resembled a tug-of-war!

In 1890 the Church Congress was held at Hull, and the Archbishop of Dublin read a notable paper on this same theme. It was an important occasion, and he was glad to have the chance of pleading the cause he had at heart before such an influential gathering. He explained that, while he longed for such a change in the teaching and attitude of the Church of Rome as would render negotiation with her possible, he felt bound to follow the example of the Lambeth Conference and exclude for the present the possibility of reunion with that Church. All the more, on this account, did he feel the deep importance of first rallying the scattered forces of Protestantism under the banner of a united national Church.

He then explained what he meant by his favourite expression *fraternisation*. He expressly stated that he could not, in the absence of authority, see the advantage of an interchange of pulpits, but he bore witness to the excellent results which had in his experience been forthcoming from the meeting on a common platform of ministers of various denominations whenever (as in the case of the Bible Society) this was possible, and he argued that there was a hope that the historic episcopate would not in the end present an insuperable bar to reunion, since he invariably found his office as a bishop (as distinguished from his personality) treated with great respect by his brethren of other denominations. Here once more is an instance of his innate optimism. No one who ever met Lord

Plunket could fail in showing to him that respect and regard which his winning courtesy and dignified bearing demanded. It is to be feared that it was *Lord Plunket*, rather than the Archbishop of Dublin, whom the Nonconformists treated with such proper appreciation.

The main distinction between fraternisation and federation he declared to be that in the former case the exhibition of brotherly love is voluntary, while the latter must be sanctioned by authority. The recommendations of the Lambeth Conferences were a step in the direction of federation. He expressed himself as most firm on the matter of the historic episcopate, but he said that while demanding that holy orders should for the future be episcopally conferred, it would be fatal to demand the re-ordination of existing ministers who had received orders from other sources. He ended by an outburst of eloquence, full of hope and confidence for the future, recognising in the manifestation throughout Christendom of a widespread craving for union the very operation of the all-pervading Spirit by whom the whole body of the Church is sanctified and governed.

But it was not only or mainly by speeches and pamphlets such as these that Lord Plunket furthered the cause of reunion. He was always trying to set an example of "brotherly love." While he felt strongly the impossibility of drawing nearer to his Roman Catholic brethren in matters ecclesiastical, yet on social occasions, or when opportunities of co-operation in purely philanthropic affairs offered themselves, he was more than ready to welcome them. Thus, when

the statue of Father Mathew was unveiled in Dublin, he stood side by side with Archbishop Walsh upon the temperance platform; and a photograph of the two Archbishops thus united in one common cause is in existence.

One of those with whom Lord Plunket took counsel on this subject of "unity" was the Rev. James S. Fletcher, D.D., at that time incumbent of St. Barnabas', Dublin. Mr. Fletcher was one of the hon. secretaries of the "United Services Committee" and other united Christian work carried on in the "Christian Union Buildings," in Abbey Street, Dublin. He records how the Archbishop, shortly after his election to the see, sent for him to Old Connaught, and in the privacy of a "quiet little summer-house" questioned him as to the doings of those with whom he (Mr. Fletcher) was working.

There was one special point upon which Lord Plunket sought to be reassured. A report had been spread to the effect that any Churchman going to the Christian Union meetings would be expected to leave his Prayer-book behind him. Mr. Fletcher was able fully to relieve the Archbishop's mind upon this point, for he himself, at the request of the committee, had opened one of the meetings with prayers from the Prayer-book, "kneeling at the front of the platform with the Prayer-book in his hands," and had been warmly thanked by a Nonconformist minister who was present, and who assured him that what had done him most good was "the privilege of joining aloud, in common with that great gathering, in the General

Confession and glorious Thanksgiving of the beautiful Liturgy of the Church of England."

During the years in which he lived at Old Connaught he gave frequent receptions and large garden parties. Of these it has been recorded that "his beautiful grounds became on his reception days a paradise in which the leopard walked beside the lamb. While his usual invitations were to his own clergy, he took care that, where opportunity offered, the largest welcome should be given to the representatives of other bodies of Christians and to the clergy of all denominations who lived within reach." In the speech which he delivered at the Hull Church Congress he spoke with thankfulness of the action of the Bishop of Lichfield (Maclagan) in entertaining the Nonconformist ministers of his diocese at the Palace. It was a fulfilment of that dream of fraternisation which was so dear to him.

The Rev. Samuel Prenter, the leader of the Presbyterian community in Dublin, has recorded some exceedingly interesting instances of the Archbishop's efforts in the direction of a wide-hearted unity. After speaking of the warm friendship which existed between himself and Lord Plunket, he goes on to say :

"It was the largeness of his spirit that was his charm. When Mr. D. L. Moody and the Rev. J. McNeil conducted a mission in Dublin in 1892, I was one of the clerical secretaries. I thought that if the Archbishop would come to the hall and open the mission with prayer it would be well. But I saw many difficulties. The Evangelists might not like the devotional forms which of course the Archbishop would use. The Archbishop might not like to associate himself with the methods of the American and Scottish Evangelists. I shrank

from mentioning the matter to any one, lest a false position might be created if the thing did not come off. I then went to Mr. Moody and laid the proposal before him in a private interview. He said at once, 'The Archbishop won't come.' I replied, 'But suppose he does?' 'Then,' said he, 'I shall be delighted.' 'But what,' I said, 'about the Prayer-book?' 'Oh!' he said, 'the Archbishop must use what words he pleases.' 'Perhaps,' I then said, 'it would be more simple to ask the Archbishop to pronounce the benediction.' 'No, no,' said Mr. Moody; 'there might be some things done upon which he would not like to pronounce his benediction. If he comes, he must open the mission.'

"I then went to the Palace and saw the Archbishop. I put my proposal before him as delicately as I could. He said at once, 'I should consider it a great honour to be associated in work with such eminent servants of God.' In a few minutes all was arranged. The Archbishop consented to open the mission that evening, and begged me to go with him privately to the meeting and introduce him to Mr. Moody.

"When the hour came he and I drove in a cab to the great wooden hall in the Rotunda Gardens, and as the Archbishop's stately form was seen ascending the platform, the spectacle produced a wonderful impression on the vast multitude of eight or ten thousand people who thronged the building. The Archbishop and Mr. Moody were introduced, and the two men, so different in outward appearance but really so alike in heart and spirit and in devotion and love to Christ, shook hands with extraordinary cordiality. Needless to say, the opening devotions conducted by the Archbishop were singularly appropriate and uplifting, and the whole subsequent mission was the better for his presence.

"Lord Plunket was in the habit of inviting ministers of all denominations to the Palace in the spring, when the General Synod of his own Church met in Dublin. For long I felt that this was a very generous but a very one-sided hospitality. Accordingly, when the General Assembly, the supreme court of my Church, met in Dublin in June 1892, I thought we ought

to invite the Archbishop to a public conversazione which we were to hold in the Rotunda. It fell to me to make the proposal on both sides, and an invitation was sent to the Archbishop, which he cordially accepted, so that at that conversazione he was the honoured guest of our Church, and a large number of his clergy followed his example. He was very gracious, and mingled with the clergy of both Churches like Virgil's queen—

"'Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.'

"But in the private interview which I had with him to ascertain whether he would accept our invitation he said, 'Yes, I shall be proud to receive and accept your invitation, but only on one condition, which is that your Assembly accept an invitation from me to visit Old Connaught.' 'But, your Grace, our Assembly will number at least six or eight hundred members.' 'The more the better,' was his reply. We accepted his invitation, and at Old Connaught there was an historic gathering of the ministers of both Churches and of hundreds of guests from amongst the laity of the city and county of Dublin. The day was the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the first Presbytery in Ireland in the ancient city of Carrickfergus, and in a most eloquent address delivered by the Archbishop to his guests reference was made to the event, and the hope was expressed that the two sections of Irish Protestants might be drawn more closely together. I never saw Lord Plunket so happy as on that day, nor do I know anything that has done so much as that event to sweeten Church life in Dublin, and indeed in all Ireland.

"The Archbishop was a very brave man. The following is an instance of what I mean; but, to understand it, it is necessary to explain that since 1874 an annual Christian Convention has been held every autumn in Dublin, which has been very largely attended, and at which representative speakers from all the Churches in Great Britain and Ireland have attended. When Lord Plunket became Archbishop of Dublin he was asked to preside at some of the meetings of the Convention,

and although the proceedings were never popular with a very influential school of thought among his clergy, he with characteristic courage accepted the invitation. In the course of years his figure was familiar on the Convention platform, and no man was a greater favourite with the vast audience. He was instrumental in drawing to the Convention from year to year such speakers as Archdeacon Sinclair and others.

"One year an eminent Congregational minister from London (Dr. Horton) had consented to attend as a speaker, and his name appeared in the first rough draft of the programme. On the committee we had a few sticklers for traditional orthodoxy, and at the eleventh hour they brought extracts from Dr. Horton's books which appeared to be in conflict with generally accepted views of Inspiration. They insisted that Dr. Horton's name should be struck off the list of speakers, and argued that his views could not be made to square with the doctrinal basis of the Convention. Others held that Dr. Horton could not and should not be treated in so shabby a manner. Eventually a compromise was effected, and the difficulties were to be laid before Dr. Horton and the solution of the matter left in his hands. When the secretary wrote to him he indignantly withdrew from the position, and reminded the committee that it was not he who sought to be a speaker at the Convention. The matter got into the papers, and there were a few angry letters over it.

"Lord Plunket presided at the meeting at which Dr. Horton should have spoken according to the original draft of the programme. No one expected that any reference would be made to the awkward episode which had occurred and had terminated, as was supposed. But the Archbishop took hold of the subject on the public platform, narrated the facts, and proceeded to comment upon them. He drew out of his pocket a pamphlet on the subject of the Inspiration of the Bible which he had himself written many years before, and read parallel extracts from Dr. Horton's book, showing that the views of the latter coincided in almost every particular with his own. When his Grace had finished these extracts he drew himself

up to his full height, and, trembling in every limb with indignation, he turned upon the great audience and said, 'You have compelled me to take sides, and I do not hesitate to stand beside Dr. Horton in this matter. If you have driven him from this platform, you should not have invited me. But since you *have* invited me, I do not hesitate to tell you that you should not have driven him away. He ought to have been here, and I believe that your narrowness in excluding him is not in harmony with the mind of Christ.'

"This was a bolt from heaven, which cleared the religious atmosphere from that day to this. None but a brave spirit could have delivered it, and, like everything Lord Plunket did, it carried conviction. No bad blood was produced."

As proof, if any be needed, of the estimation in which he was held by those who differed from him on ecclesiastical matters, it is only necessary to glance at the newspapers which were published at the time of his death. His desire for unity had caused him to win all hearts. A leading Roman Catholic paper thus described him:

"It is just and pleasing to add that no one ever doubted the transparent sincerity of the Archbishop in all these proceedings. It is also to be added that in controversy he never forgot that he was a gentleman. . . . On public bodies his relations with his Catholic colleagues were cordial. On the National Board he was in favour of fair play for the Christian Brothers."

On the other hand, a leading Presbyterian minister, preaching on the Sunday after the Archbishop's funeral, used these words:

"No frictions, irritations, misunderstandings, were ever suffered to mar the sweetness of his spirit. Peace was the watchword of his lips as it was the sentinel of his soul. Sadly

shall we miss him. No one in our land, probably few in Christendom, did more than he towards the breaking down of long estrangements and the establishment of better relations between his own and other Churches of the one Lord."

At his funeral there were representatives of all branches of the Christian Church, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, who was unable to be present in person, sending his carriage with two of his chaplains to represent him.

It has been given to few dignitaries of the Church to have inspired such deep affection and respect in the hearts of members of other communities, and thereby to advance so surely, if unobtrusively, the cause of unity.

CHAPTER IX

THE BISHOPRIC OF MEATH

VERY early in Lord Plunket's married life the health of Lady Plunket broke down, and for many years a great deal of her time had to be spent abroad. This was a sore trial to one who was as devoted to wife and children as he was, and it further necessitated his taking many lengthy and weary journeys, for he never liked to leave his work in Ireland for very long together, and he was never satisfied to be many weeks without seeing for himself how Lady Plunket fared. For the purposes of this biography, however, these unfortunate separations have proved valuable, for it is chiefly from letters written at this period that it has been possible to understand to some extent that other and more private side of Lord Plunket's character, which many reveal more or less in the course of a general correspondence, but which his usual habit of writing short letters, confined to the business in hand, failed entirely to disclose. Again, his undemonstrative nature, and that reserve and "aloofness" so often mentioned by his friends, hid from most eyes the depths of his affection and the intensity of his feelings. Of this he was fully aware. In one letter to Lady Plunket he speaks of one of his sons inheriting the

"Plunket reserve," and in another he signs himself "Your undemonstrative but loving, &c. &c."

His handwriting was clear and elegant—a combination not so common as it used to be—and in the letters which he wrote under unrestrained circumstances he used many quaint and original expressions. Thus, he was exceedingly fond of the old English word "quiddities," which the dictionary defines as "a trifling nicety." "You are such a quiddity," he says in one letter. Here, again, is a quaint expression for one who is not quite well: "I fear you feel *dingy*"; and another with the same meaning: "I'm afraid you are only *dawny*"; while for being benefited in health he has an exceedingly expressive word: "A change," he says, "sometimes *sprigs* you up." The letters written during the early years of married life, while the children were still little, are full of anxious inquiries about Lady Plunket's health, and mostly contain some careful and touching directions as to further means of benefiting her, or urgent pleading that she shall take proper care of herself in his absence. The children, too, are never forgotten. They are each one mentioned by name in almost every letter, even when these are written on several successive days, and the elder ones are often begged to write to him. His anxiety if one of them was unwell is almost pathetic to read. There was an occasion, when he had run over abroad to pay them a short visit, on which just before leaving he had noticed a little spot upon the baby's neck. This was evidently of no importance, for his inquiry about it in his first few letters after returning to Ireland was ignored. He could not forget it, however, and

persisted in asking about it until his loving anxiety was set at rest. It is little things of this sort which prove the steadfastness of a father's love even more perhaps than occasional acts of devotion.

There is one more matter in these letters which calls for notice. As has been stated already, his health became very much stronger after the serious malady from which he suffered for many years had been conquered. But he does not seem to have been at this time very robust. He complains continually of "cold feet" and "singing in the ears," while on more than one occasion he mentions having suffered from "a giddy faintishness" when run down.

A letter written to his mother when he was paying one of his visits to the temporary residence of Lady Plunket gives an insight into the precarious state of the latter's health, and also affords an interesting glimpse of the famous Bonn Conference of 1875. Here it is:

"HÔTEL METROPOLE, LANGEN SCHWALBACH,
"NASSAU, GERMANY,
"*Aug.* 20, 1875.

"DEAREST MOTHER,

"I can't help sitting down and having another chat with 'the Madre,' but on the same conditions as when I last wrote—namely, that you will leave to your daughters the responsibility of answering my letter. It is with Annie [Lady Plunket] here, as it has been everywhere else, a case of 'here we go, up up uppy, and here we go, down down downy!' About a week ago she felt that she had derived so much benefit from these baths and waters that she pronounced herself better than she had been since she left Ireland, and

really she did seem wonderfully well in every respect. Accordingly, I ventured to run away from her for a few days to Bonn, where there was being held a conference between the Old Catholics and the representatives of the Greek and other Churches. It was a very interesting meeting. I do not suppose that for a thousand years or more so many members of the Eastern Church had congregated together in conclave with the members of the Western Church, with which Communion they have been since their separation on terms of such bitter animosity. However, on this occasion there they were —about twenty in number—two Archbishops from Russia and Asia Minor, and any number of Archimandrites, with their long robes and high hats, and flowing beards and tawny skins and dark calm eyes. And there also were the Alt-Catholics, including old Dr. Döllinger, their most learned professor (perhaps *the* most learned theologian in Europe), and their new Bishop Reinkens (a noble and truly good man). There also were representatives from the German Lutheran Communion and from the American Episcopal Church, and the Scotch Episcopal Church and the Church of England; and last, though not least, the good old Church of Ireland, represented (badly enough, I am afraid) by myself and Master Brooke. . . .

"The object of the Conference was not, as some have imagined, to seek for a *fusion* of Churches which differ so widely. This would indeed be a visionary project: but our hope was to promote goodwill and to encourage the intercourse of friendly thoughts, and to seek for, even to a small extent, something of united worship, such as the repeating together of the 'Te Deum' and

the Lord's Prayer. So far as these objects were concerned, the Conference has certainly not been a failure. It was also a good and pleasant thing, inasmuch as it brought together into friendly intercourse men of very diverse views within our own Church. I had, for example, an opportunity of talking about our Irish Church to Canon Liddon and Malcolm McColl (who have spoken very harshly about it), and succeeded, I hope, in removing some misapprehensions. . . .

"Just as I was about, on Sunday morning, to go and hear a sermon from one of the Alt-Catholic preachers, I got a line from A. saying that she had got a violent access of her old enemy. . . . I at once hurried back, and found her much prostrated when I arrived that evening. She has, however, thank God, made a wonderful rally. . . .

"Hoping soon to see you face to face, and be able to talk with the mouth instead of the pen,

"I remain

"Yours affectionately,

"PLUNKET."

In the following year they were at St. Moritz, and a portion of a letter has been preserved in which there is the first intimation of the idea that he should become a bishop. Owing to his late ordination, and the fact that the living which he held in West Connaught as chaplain to his uncle was practically a sinecure, he had had no experience of parochial work. His natural gifts, however, and his powers of organisation and management of men, marked him out as eminently fitted for such a position. Another qualification, too, he possessed.

Since the disestablishment of the Irish Church it became a matter of some importance that the bishops should have private means. These Lord Plunket possessed, and his marriage with Miss Guinness had brought him additional wealth. Again, there was a fear lest the class of man seeking ordination would after disestablishment deteriorate. It was at all events some help towards preventing this that a man of Lord Plunket's position should become one of the bishops of the Church of Ireland.

[*To his Mother.*]

[First sheet lost. Written from St. Moritz (?), 1876.]

"One other matter I hasten to write about to you, as the first to whom I should like (next to Annie) to open my mind on such a point. I mean about the vacant Meath bishopric. You have perhaps seen the article in the *Express* about it, and would like to know how it all came about and how matters now stand. Well, here it is:

"The day after I heard of the poor Bishop's tragical end, a Meath gentleman who was staying about three miles from St. Moritz called upon me and pressed upon me very urgently the duty of allowing myself to be put in nomination. He said that the claims of the three men who are likely to be nominated would prove to be in such hopeless conflict that none of them could hope to be finally appointed, and that in the meantime the canvassing and agitation that must ensue would have a very disastrous effect. He stated that in his opinion the clergy and laity generally would be in favour of my appointment, and gave his reasons for

thinking that it would be for the interests of the diocese and the Church that I should accept the office were it offered to me. I told him that, without some further warrant for believing that what he said was something more than the outcome of personal friendship, I could not make any promise.

"Well, a day or two afterwards I got a very pressing letter from my friend Major D——, in which he reiterated all that the other had said, giving at the same time something more in the way of grounds for the opinion he had formed. In this letter he asked for an immediate answer, so I took a day or two to think over the matter and wrote a conditional assent, at the same time sending him a telegram to authorise him to act (pending the receipt of my letter) in such way as he might think best for the Church. Since that time I have received a letter from him which certainly tends to confirm me in the belief that in giving permission for my nomination I have been only following what seems to be a plain indication of duty, whatever the ultimate result may be.

"One of the points which seems to mark out the way is the fact that just at the present moment, for the first time during the last few years, Annie's health seems to be such as to permit of my entertaining such a notion as that which I have been called upon to face.

"Again, the Meath diocese is the only one (with the exception of the Archbishopric of Dublin) which I could well undertake to think of just now. The diocese of Meath, strangely enough, has its centre (so far as practical convenience is concerned) outside of it. Its Synods and Councils and Boards of Nomination are

all held in Dublin, and it would therefore be quite possible and indeed *most* convenient (were I appointed) that I should reside a great part of the year in Dublin. Then, again, the Palace at Ardbraccan (a very fine and comfortable house) is only two hours' rail from Dublin. The diocese is in good working order and is compact, so that the labour of superintendence would not be excessive; and the clergy and laity, so far as I can learn, are as a whole not of a troublesome or fratricidal disposition! Altogether, if I am to allow myself to be nominated for a bishopric at all, I don't know any diocese for which I should more wish to be elected. In the meantime, however (although I am anxious that you should be the first to be put into knowledge of how matters stand), I don't like to think or say much about the matter, for (as I have said to those who have asked me to give my name for the purpose) my object is to prevent a deadlock and avert division; and, if it should turn out that there was any opposition to my appointment such as would bring about an opposite result, I should at once withdraw and make way for another. In the interval it is well to remember, and it is comforting to think, that the issue is in the hands of One who knoweth what is best. In those hands I leave it all!——

* * * * *

"Your affectionate son,

"PLUNKET."

"P.S.—This will perhaps reach you on my birthday, when, as always, you will, I know, have your Willie in remembrance."

On December 10, 1876, he was duly consecrated Bishop of Meath by the Primate at Armagh. Immediately after the ceremony he wrote the following letter to his mother:

"THE PALACE, ARMAGH,
Sunday, Dec. 10, 1876.

"DEAREST MOTHER,

"I cannot help writing one line to say that the Consecration has taken place, and I am now Bishop of Meath. If I have any qualifications to fit me for the high office upon which in God's providence I have been called to enter, let me say that I owe it all, under God, to what I first learned from you, and therefore you shall be the first to hear of the result from

"Your affectionate first-born son,
"PLUNKET MEATH."

The diocese over which he was thus called to preside was not very populous. The Church people numbered some ten or eleven thousand—about as many as are contained in an ordinary small market-town in England—and the land was largely untilled. There were huge grazing farms containing fields of a hundred acres or more, and the population of any kind was exceedingly sparse. There were a certain number of English people resident there in the winter, for, as may be imagined, it is a capital hunting country. The chief town in the diocese is Navan, a town which looks more charming when seen from the railway bridge, as it nestles on the far side of the river Boyne, than it does upon closer acquaintance. The bishop's

residence at that time was the Palace, Ardbraccan, though after Lord Plunket's episcopate the rectory house at Ardbraccan changed its name to Bishopscourt and became the home of the holders of the see, for the income was so seriously diminished after the disestablishment of the Irish Church that it was found impossible to keep up the Palace. This latter building just suited Lord and Lady Plunket, with their private means and large-hearted hospitality. It was a very large, fine house, with the chief portion in the centre. From this on either side there extended semicircular wings, each of which ended in a farther building, one of these outermost portions being the "bachelors' wing," where candidates for ordination were hospitably housed. The grounds contained some remarkable trees, especially some glorious cedars and a well-known chestnut of great size, whose branches had taken root and shot up at a distance into new trees. Here Lord Plunket had a chance of developing his taste for landscape gardening, and laid out many new flower-beds, &c.; but he chiefly delighted in the opportunity of entertaining his clergy and their families, besides his many friends of various denominations, at the vast garden parties to which the Palace grounds so admirably lent themselves.

A short but graphic description of the house and the hospitality of its occupiers occurs in the course of a letter from a lady who stayed there. She writes:

"Of that three days' visit we paid at the Bishop's Palace at Ardbraccan what remains with me is the vision of that noble façade, with window-boxes in every window filled with the brightest flowers to give colour to the dull grey stone and flat

architecture, and because Lord and Lady Plunket loved flowers so dearly. . . .

Lord Plunket left an indelible impression. His high-bred personality reflected in his beautiful face (which seemed to embody the 'beauty of holiness'), his gentle courtesy and kindness of heart, his tact and gentleness. . . . the memory of the hospitable and gracious courtesy, which, while there was no *gêne* or restraint or fuss, made for the time 'the host's the home of every guest.'

"There were twenty people staying in the house, yet from the time you left your room in the morning (when you were met at the head of the stairs by the housekeeper, who begged to know if your room was comfortable, and if you wanted anything) till night you felt an atmosphere of care, as if you were welcome and specially thought about. One tiny example—small but significant. One of the guests, on coming down in the morning to the great hall where all the house assembled first thing, and where Lord Plunket said prayers, remarked that it was a cold morning. It was early autumn, and fires had not yet been begun in the hall. Next morning there was a blazing fire. The guest was equally touched and remorseful. He had only made the remark 'to pass the time of day.' . . .

"Lady Plunket made a sweet and gentle hostess, and was of great use to him. . . .

"Some over-zealous spirits thought that Lord Plunket erred on the side of toleration to those who differed from him. But that is scarcely counted to him for a sin now!"

Another description of the Ardbraccan hospitality is given by Lady Ferguson, who paid a visit to the Palace on a memorable occasion:

"Lord and Lady Plunket, at all times given to hospitality, and most successful in making their home agreeable to their guests, while residing at Ardbraccan desired to entertain a large party of friends, many of them distinguished as scholars,

men of letters, poets, and archæologists. The Bishop consulted in advance his friend Sir Samuel Ferguson, Deputy Keeper of the Records of Ireland, and President of the Royal Irish Academy, and asked him to undertake the guidance of those interested in antiquities to the numerous remains of pagan and early Christian times which abound in the County Meath. For this purpose a large wagonette had been hired, the Bishop reserving his own carriages for the use of clergy whom he wished to take to diocesan objects of interest, while Lady Plunket was to show others the scenery of the district. . . .

"At the appointed date and hour the Bishop and Lady Plunket met their friends at Navan station with a formidable array of conveyances. The weather was beautiful, and after a pleasant drive we reached the spacious house . . . . where there was bedroom accommodation for sixty-one occupants. Such a household, even for a few days, would have taxed the energies of most people, but Lady Plunket was an incomparable hostess. She remembered with a tact peculiarly her own the personal tastes of her guests. So cordial as well as personal was the welcome, that each one had the gratifying sense of being individually considered. . . .

"Alas! when we assembled the following morning the weather was so hopelessly wet that it was impossible to venture out except in closed conveyances. Lady Plunket, owing to the change of temperature, was tortured by neuralgia and unable to leave her room. The Bishop and some of the clergy visited churches and schools. The drawing-room was given up to the young folk, and Sir Samuel Ferguson assembled the literary people around a large fire in the hall. Among these were Sir Francis Doyle, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, Dr. Reichel, afterwards Lord Plunket's successor as Bishop of Meath, and many other cultured men. . . .

"So brilliant was the talk that the hours flew by only too rapidly. After dinner in the evenings the young people charmed us with song or melody, or with charades which they had amused themselves by rehearsing in the daytime. Lady

Plunket was better in the evenings, and able to be with her guests.

"Each succeeding day of our visit to Ardbraccan brought the same experiences. The weather continued hopelessly wet, but we cared not. . . .

"All agreed that they had never before paid such a delightful visit. . . . It has been my good fortune to find myself from time to time in the society of some of those who met at Ardbraccan, and invariably they have reverted to that memorable visit, and pronounced it to have been one of the most enjoyable experiences of life."

No stronger evidence could possibly be given of the gifts of both host and hostess, who found themselves with a houseful of intellectual celebrities for the space of three or four uninterruptedly wet days!

It was just at this period of Lord Plunket's life that he was brought much in contact with his children, and that they began to realise how deep was his love for and unceasing his care of them. His reserve and extreme dignity of manner made him seem at times a little apart from *them*, and always rather unapproachable by other children. There are, however, abundant signs in his letters, and evidences in the recollections of his own children and others who came in contact with him, that beneath this outward appearance there was a heart which was full of love for children and beat in sympathy with their little joys and woes. Here is a word picture sketched by a guest at Ardbraccan:

"Don't you know how some sights photograph themselves on your memory? I can *see* him [Lord Plunket] as just after prayers one morning his youngest little girl climbed on his knee and put her little arms round his neck, her little face

so near his—so like his in miniature, I thought, with the same sweet, half-sad expression."

His children's recollections are full of the memory of the little games he played with them when they were hardly out of babyhood—of the "rabbit" he made with his pocket-handkerchief, of the unfailing joy in his watch, which had belonged to the old lord, and could be apparently taken almost to pieces, since it possessed two cases, and of *his* delight as well as theirs in the mechanical toys which he wound up for them after breakfast every morning.

When they were a little older he encouraged them to collect wild flowers, to study the stars, and indeed to go on with any scientific or semi-scientific interest which seemed to be developing in their minds. As may be imagined, he was thoughtfulness itself, and his children remember many acts of special consideration for them. A good instance of this occurred at the time of the reopening of Kildare Cathedral, when Archbishop Benson was present and an immense crowd had assembled. Lord Plunket was naturally as busy as possible, seeing to all the arrangements and looking after his important guests, but he did not forget to be waiting at the door of the cathedral for his daughters and their governess, that he might take them to good seats whence they could see and hear all that went on. The following touching words are from the pen of one of his children:

"I think that what I remember most about my dear father was his extraordinary patience and sweetness of temper. I never heard him say an impatient word, though, considering his pressing duties and the interruptions which were continu-

ally occurring, it would have seemed only human to have been sometimes a little ruffled. Nor did I ever hear him speak with the least harshness or want of feeling for any one. He always seemed to see the best side of every one, no matter how unattractive they might appear to others, and so much did we feel the influence of this that we could not criticise any one in his presence. My father never enforced his wishes upon us. I think nothing would have pained him more than to have been obliged to find fault; but his influence with us was all the stronger for this reason."

Principal Moore, in his paper upon the education question, much of which is quoted hereafter, ends with a story which finds a fitting place here while considering Lord Plunket's attitude towards children. He says:

It is difficult in writing about education to avoid details, which are nearly always dry, and which are always in danger of appearing unimportant. In dealing with the great subject which centres round the children, children themselves are only too commonly kept in the nursery, as it were, and out of sight. Let us at least conclude with one glance at the Archbishop in the presence of a child. He was visiting at a country rectory, and had won the confidence of the son of the house, a boy of some five or six summers. The child told him how his playroom was a church, and how he wanted the Bishop to come to his service. There was no resisting such a plea, and the little fellow led him by the hand to the room. Lord Plunket could hardly have been prepared for what followed. Quite innocently the boy brought him to the pulpit, and then left him there, saying, 'Please p'each me a sermon.' The petition was not in vain. Those who were present say that for that one little child he preached a children's sermon as beautiful as any they had ever heard."

CHAPTER X

MEATH—(CONTINUED)

It is now necessary to turn to the more strictly episcopal work performed by Lord Plunket as Bishop of Meath. It was thought by some that he allowed this work to be too greatly interrupted by his interest in the Spanish Reformed Church and his journeys to investigate its circumstances.* This was not an unnatural conclusion to draw, but those who made these complaints did not take into consideration certain facts which would have gone far to mitigate the harshness of their judgment. The diocese of Meath was small, and there is plain evidence that Lord Plunket fulfilled the duties of a bishop to the utmost.

The spirit in which he approached the episcopal supervision of the diocese is clearly seen in his primary charge. This opens with the following words:

"My reverend Brethren,

"The duty of addressing you collectively for the first time as your Bishop brings with it a very solemn sense of responsibility. In such an emergency I have no resource but to look to my God for His help, and to you, dear brethren, for your considerate forbearance.

* See page 232.

That our Heavenly Father has power to make His strength perfect in my weakness I must not doubt. Nor ought I to fear the response which I may now look for on your parts. For not only did you give me the highest proof of your goodwill on that day when, after the manner of the primitive Church, you yourselves chose me as your Bishop, but ever since that time—short though the interval has been—I have been reassured again and again by fresh tokens of your kindness and, if I may venture to say so, of your confidence as well. May the Chief Pastor, who is our common guardian and guide, so draw us together daily in the bonds of mutual affection and mutual trust, that we may the more effectually labour as one body in the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace for the accomplishment of the great work to which He has called us all!"

Lord Plunket fully realised the advantage it was to him to follow a man such as Bishop Butcher, whose learning and industry, as well as the power he possessed of winning the affections of all with whom he had to do, had left the diocese in an admirable state. On entering upon his duties, the new Bishop had obtained through the rural deans a multitude of statistics as to the condition of Church work, and said that all he had thus heard had, with few exceptions, been of such a nature as to leave upon his mind a most favourable impression of the pastoral efficiency and spiritual life which manifested itself on every side. Against two dangers he solemnly warned his clergy in this first charge. The first was that of "encouraging in any way, even by attracting

towards them first the attention and then the sympathy of any whose notice they would have otherwise escaped, the dangerous innovations of doctrine and discipline by which the primitive faith has been from time to time defaced or overlaid," and which the Church of Ireland had in the most solemn manner pledged herself to repudiate. The second was what he described as a more real peril—viz., the danger of infidelity, against which they had been eloquently warned in the last printed charge of his predecessor.

He then turned to a subject always very near to his heart—the national Church of Ireland, tracing her history for fourteen hundred years, touching upon the trials she had but lately sustained, and expressing his conviction of her essential unity with the sister Church of England.

Lastly, that more spiritual help might not be found wanting in his words, he spoke of the deadness of heart apt to creep over a minister of the Church by reason of the seldom-broken routine of his daily life, and thus exhorted his hearers:

"For my own part, I see no help for us at such a season of trial but to rouse ourselves with a great effort from the fatal drowsiness which may then be stealing over and overpowering our souls, and to betake ourselves at once into that best of all 'retreats,' the presence-chamber of our Heavenly Father; and there, as we find ourselves alone before our one great Confessor and Spiritual Director—even before Him from whom no secrets are hid—to compel our consciences

to answer the solemn question which startled of old the prophet's heart, 'What doest thou here?'"

This, the first charge of many delivered by Lord Plunket, is a striking example of the power he possessed of delivering clear and well-defined matter clothed in exquisite English. It is a model of what a charge should be, and must have produced a most favourable impression. Each portion—the personal, the diocesan, the ecclesiastical, the patriotic—was perfect in its own way; and all were gathered up towards the end and raised to a spiritual level in words no less beautiful than touching.

The ordinations which he held from time to time in the little church at Ardbraccan will always be remembered by those upon whom he laid his hands at these times. His personal kindness to the candidates and attention to their comfort while they were his guests, his dignified courtesy, which did not prevent him from giving them a hearty Irish welcome, and those quiet private talks with each one when he knelt with them in prayer and gave them his fatherly counsel, made these occasions sacred memories in the heart of many a clergyman. He was greatly aided in his work with the candidates by Dean Reichel (who succeeded him as Bishop) and Archdeacon Nugent. Indeed, both here and afterwards at Dublin, where Archdeacon Scott was his right hand in all such matters, Lord Plunket was singularly blessed in those who helped him in the examination and superintendence of those who came to him seeking holy orders.

One of the matters to which he gave great attention,

and for which his personal gifts of attraction and conciliation were turned to excellent account, was the influencing of parochial nominators at the time of a vacancy in any living in his diocese. He was once heard to say that a parish where priest and people did not get on was "a heavy weight on his heart." Further, there was nothing he dreaded more than the discord and quarrelling which was likely to arise between the friends of different candidates for a living. It has been seen how he permitted himself to be nominated for the See of Meath largely in order to prevent a season of bitterness and unrest. At the time of an election to an incumbency he invariably brought all the influence he possessed to bear upon the nominators in order to secure a good appointment and to promote unity. It has probably been already realised by those who have thus far followed his history that he was by nature of a distinctly *un*-ecclesiastical turn of mind; and this fact caused him to have great weight with the laity, and aided him in this special department of his work.

One of his earliest acts as Bishop was to secure the presence of Archbishop Tait and Dean Howson, who both addressed a meeting of the Meath Protestant Orphan Society, in which Lord Plunket took great interest. It was on this occasion that the Archbishop of Canterbury delighted his Irish hearers by saying:

"All who remember the religious life of England in past years are quite ready to acknowledge the debt which England owes to Ireland, and I feel confident that in the difficulties which beset the Church of Christ in this nineteenth century,

whether they be difficulties of the intellect, or whether they be difficulties of an exaggeration of the religious sympathies and the religious feelings directed to unworthy objects, we shall receive help and assistance from those in Ireland who feel for all our difficulties, and who will show that if we had sympathy with them in their trials, they are not less ready to have sympathy with us and to give us that assistance which they are so well able to bestow."

It will be noticed that the difficulties so accurately foreshadowed for the Church of England in the above words are just those against which Lord Plunket warned his clergy in his primary charge.

It was not only the orphanage, or this or that special cause, which received support from the Bishop of Meath and Lady Plunket. The Rev. J. A. Jennings (Rector of St. Mary's, Dublin) was at one time a close neighbour of the Bishop at Ardbraccan, and he describes how the Palace was ever open for concerts and entertainments of all kinds in aid of Church matters throughout the diocese. Such engagements add largely to a bishop's work, and it requires a light heart and one filled to the brim with unselfish loving-kindness, for a man who has been at his writing-table till the small hours of the morning, has snatched a few hours' sleep, and has spent most of the day controlling a difficult committee meeting, to view the fact with complaisance and satisfaction that on his return home, weary and hungry, he will find his house given up to a "drawing-room meeting" or a "charity bazaar." But nothing came amiss to Lord Plunket. Mr. Jennings records that a huge undertaking called "The Great Ardbraccan Bazaar" was a real delight

to the Bishop, who actually wrote some verses upon it.

"He was," says the same friend, "a perfect glutton for work. He took everything so enthusiastically, threw himself heart and soul into it, championed it, and piloted it through all odds."

What a charm there is in a nature such as this! But what a loss of tissue! "It told in the end," says Mr. Jennings, "and, I think, broke down a constitution by no means robust."

The attitude of both the Bishop and Lady Plunket to the clergy and their wives was one of extreme kindness, and in many instances of affection. Lady Plunket is described as being most "motherly" to the bride of a newly-married incumbent, and, in spite of that distant manner to which some have alluded, Lord Plunket would put his hands on the shoulders of one of his clergy, and now and again address him in words of almost paternal love.

Of his personal dealing with individual souls there is not much record, as indeed is the case with most men whose public life is as prominent as that of an archbishop is bound to be, but he felt the need of pastoral work greatly. He complained sometimes that the eternal round of meetings and ecclesiastical functions crowded out the more pastoral side of a bishop's life. At the same time he was always ready at a moment's notice to turn from whatever he might be doing in order to give spiritual counsel to any who sought him. His religion was always there, always ready. There is a beautiful little story told of how, on one occasion when there was a large evening party at

his house, of which he was as usual the life and soul, a message was brought him that a young sailor, who had been badly wounded on foreign service but had recovered, was waiting to see him. He instantly left the brilliantly lit drawing-room and his merry guests, and going to an ante-room, where the only light was such as found its way from the landing outside, welcomed the sailor lad with an affectionate greeting, and, after some little talk about the dangers of his life (both to body and to soul), knelt down with him and prayed, ending by placing his hand upon the young man's head, saying, "The Lord hath covered thy head in the day of battle," and then praying earnestly that He would also cover it in the hour of temptation. A few minutes afterwards the Bishop was back again with his guests, a smile upon his face, and once more the centre of the happy throng.

He found that his confirmation work was in many ways the most congenial of all his duties. This was partly owing to the fact that he was thus brought into contact with so many of his flock, and partly owing to his innate love for children. A relative who accompanied him on several of these occasions ventured to say that his addresses were very much the same every time. "Ah!" he replied, "I have often thought of that, but I do not see how it can be helped. You see, I gave my *very* best at the beginning."

His preaching was always a strong point. When treasurer and precentor of St. Patrick's Cathedral his sermons had formed a large part of his work, so that it can be readily understood that with this experience, and with his cultivated taste for composition, there

was a great charm for educated people in his sermons when Bishop. But he could speak also to simple folk. One day he had been asked to preach both morning and evening in a certain church. At the first service there was a crowded congregation of the neighbouring gentry and their families, and the Bishop preached a striking and scholarly sermon. In the evening he had come prepared with a second discourse of much the same character, but on getting up into the pulpit he saw that he was face to face with a completely different audience. The educated people were absent, and in their place were many children, servants, and cottagers. The prepared sermon was put away, and he spoke to them such simple, heart-felt words as came readily to his lips. A young girl who was present was walking home afterwards with one of the Bishop's sisters, and turning to her said, "Did you tell him all that I had told you about myself?" A striking proof of the way in which the preacher's words had gone home to the hearts of his hearers.

It was during the time that he was Bishop of Meath that he began to give much time to two of the great works which he undertook—viz., that for the cause of education, and that for the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Reformed Churches. But these are so important that they must be considered in separate chapters. It is enough to say that the period was marked by almost excessively hard work, for which he was prepared from the first. Just before he went there he gave evidence of this in a speech he made to a monster mothers' meeting in Dublin. Speaking to

the women, he said: "When you put on your apron in the morning, you mean that you are going to do a hard day's work. Well," holding out his apron by the corner, "I have put my apron on, and I am hoping to do a hard day's work too!"

CHAPTER XI

HIS WORK FOR IRISH EDUCATION

LORD PLUNKET'S work for the cause of Irish education was probably the most important and most lasting that he accomplished. Thanks to an exceedingly able and interesting paper from the Rev. H. Kingsmill Moore, Principal of the Kildare Place Training College, it is possible to obtain a thorough insight into what that work was.

The past history of Irish education had been a stormy one. In a paper read before the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science at Dublin, in 1881, Sir Patrick J. Keenan gave a comprehensive sketch of the former state of educational affairs. He pointed out that in 1537 an Act was passed providing that every archbishop or bishop should administer an oath to each person taking holy orders that he would keep, or cause to be kept, in his parish a school for the purpose of teaching the English language. From that moment throughout three centuries every form of public education in Ireland was mistrusted.

In 1695 an Act of William III. decreed that no person whatever of the Popish religion should publicly teach school or instruct youth in learning. This Act was repealed in 1732, and in the following year the

Protestant Charter Schools were founded. These schools for nearly a century received Parliamentary grants to the amount of some £40,000 per annum. After they had been in existence about forty years the society which controlled these schools resolved, "To admit none but children of Papists, or such as were in danger of being bred up Papists." This provision was not annulled until 1803. These facts will sufficiently explain the hopeless failure of this first period of Irish education.

Then came a great change. At the beginning of this century a vast educational movement arose, which resulted, so far as Ireland was concerned, in the establishment of the Christian Brothers at Waterford, the British and Foreign School Society (1808), and the National Society (1811). The first of these was purely Roman, the second was due to the efforts of the followers of Lancaster, who with Dr. Bell was well known as a great educational reformer, while the third was started by the friends of Dr. Bell, and differed from the British and Foreign Society in the fact that, while that society required Bible reading without comment, the National Society inculcated the truths of religion according to the Established Church.

Naturally enough, the British and Foreign plan appeared to commend itself most as an acceptable compromise, and in 1811 the Society for the Promotion of the Education of the Poor in Ireland, soon to be called "Kildare Place" Society, was formed on the same purely undenominational lines. The result was not, however, entirely satisfactory. Romanists objected to Bible reading in schools; Protestants

considered the amount of religious teaching insufficient.

"Still," said Sir Patrick Keenan, "it was a truce, and largely welcomed by eminent men on both sides." The Duke of York became the patron, and described the society as being "established on that liberal plan which was everywhere so important, and in Ireland absolutely indispensable."

One of the earliest works undertaken by the Kildare Place Society was the training of teachers. It was a bold policy. The income of the society was not more than £300 a year when they resolved to build a model school and seminary for training masters. In 1814 Parliament voted £6980 for the purpose, and the school was opened five years later. Thus Mr. Moore is able to say that "the Church of Ireland Training College enjoys the distinction of being the oldest training college in the United Kingdom which continues to work on its original site." That it is able to make this boast is in large measure due to the untiring exertions of Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin.

It will be best to quote largely, for the further history of the work, from Mr. Moore's paper. He says:

"Lord Plunket's educational work may be said to have commenced (in earnest) upon his appointment to the See of Meath in 1876. In his early days the opposition between the Church Education Society * and the National Board † was acute and far-reaching in its effects. . . . The environment of his younger days led to a sympathy with the former which was never lost, and which may have had an even exaggerated influence upon

* See below, p. 159.

† Founded by the Government in 1831, with a view to conciliating the Roman Catholics. See below, p. 159.

some of his opinions in after life. But though the future Archbishop grew up in an atmosphere strongly impregnated with Church Education Society's views, there is evidence that he did not look upon the position from any narrow standpoint. Speaking in after years at a memorable meeting in Armagh, he summed up the attitude of his life by saying, 'I have never taken a prominent part in educational controversy.' The reason is in all probability to be found in the sentiment [contained in a letter from Lord Plunket to the *Daily Express* in 1882], 'What can be done to unite all reasonable men?' Always anxious to find the good in every party, and so to work for reconciliation instead of for the accentuation of differences, he stood aside so long as reconciliation appeared unattainable, waiting and watching for more promising times. His opportunity came at last, and when it came he so used it as to terminate a controversy of fifty years with honour to all concerned.

"The organisation which Lord Plunket selected as most likely to promote the unity for which he longed was the Church of Ireland Training College.

* * * * *

"The Kildare Place Society would probably, but for its undenominationalism, have permanently retained all the primary education of Ireland. As it was, some of the great religious bodies were satisfied. . . . Opposition was not long in springing into existence. It grew more formidable year by year, until at last, in 1831, the Government grants were withdrawn, and the general work of Irish education was transferred to the National Board. The educational events of this year of grace 1831 must receive a moment's careful attention, for they are directly responsible for much of the educational history of the century, and they gave rise in particular to the difficulties for whose solution Lord Plunket's work was so effectively directed.

"The main object of the Government in withdrawing help from Kildare Place and in founding the National Board was to conciliate the Roman Catholics. . . . But it was one thing to

tolerate Roman Catholics; quite another to make provision for or even to recognise their religious views. Accordingly, the National Board began with an undenominationalism as absolute as that of the Kildare Place Society, and, in addition, it made no provision whatever for reading the Scriptures. The indignation which this departure aroused in Church circles was as natural as it was vehement. . . .

"The Kildare Place Society, smarting at the slight done by Government to efforts which had been wholly disinterested and in no small degree successful, sought about for means of continuing the society by voluntary support. They fixed upon the question of scriptural education, and in the strength of this position made their appeal to the feeling which had been outraged by the withdrawal of the Bible from the school. The effect was instantaneous. . . . The voluntary resources of the society increased tenfold. For the moment it looked as if a new era of prosperity had begun. . . . But the new supporters who rallied round the society belonged almost without exception to the Episcopal Church. For them scriptural education meant Church education; nor were they prepared to devote themselves to any other cause. So soon as it was recognised that the Kildare Place Society (by its constitution) could lend itself to no such distinctive work, the interest of Churchmen flagged, . . . subscriptions rapidly fell off, and it became manifest that all prospect of successful work upon the original lines was at an end. It was at this juncture that the Church Education Society was formed. . . . This society allowed absolute freedom, not alone in the exposition of the Bible, but in the introduction of the Church catechism and Church formularies generally, and at once recommended itself to the support of Churchmen everywhere. . . ."

The Kildare Place Society, being in very low water, were glad to lease the whole of their premises to this new society, and it was from this point that the great struggle began between the National Board and the

Church Education Society, a struggle which was to add greatly to the difficulties of Lord Plunket's work, but which brought him to the front as a peacemaker and an educational legislator of the first rank.

The National Board had, of course, observed the very strong feeling which had been aroused throughout the whole country by the starting of the Church Education Society, and exceedingly cleverly and most unexpectedly began on their part to make concessions. Always in favour of a certain amount of religious education, they now made it plain that they meant to go in for definite denominational teaching. These tactics proved too strong for the other society. From an immense income (£45,000 per annum) the Church Education Society descended to a few thousands. Its great subscription list dwindled to next to nothing, and finally the Training College at Kildare Place, which, it must be remembered, they leased from the old Kildare Place Society, was found to be in financial difficulties. Now to quote Mr. Moore again :

"It was at this crisis that Lord Plunket first identified himself actively with the fortunes of the college. Though never prominent in educational controversy, he had always been profoundly impressed with the importance of religious education. . . . To protect freedom and enlarge the scope of religious education he looked upon as a work worthy of his deepest thought and his most untiring exertions. He selected the college for his special care because his insight told him that with the prosperity of the cause of religious education the welfare of the Training College was inseparably bound up. To quote his own words, the thoughts that stirred him were 'the supreme importance of maintaining religious education' and

the determination that 'the Church of Ireland Training College should be preserved.'

* * * * *

"When the Church Education Society reluctantly announced their inability to continue the management of the Training College, the General Synod determined to take up the work. They entrusted it to their Board of Religious Education, by whom a sub-committee was appointed for the purpose. The labours of this committee began in 1878, and by the close of 1879 we find Lord Plunket acting as its chairman."

Probably no one else could have steered this committee through its many difficulties with anything like the success which was attained by Lord Plunket. It was an opportunity for the exercise of his gifts of mediating between opposing interests and of statesmanship. There were the members of the old Kildare Place committee to be considered. They were the legal owners of the college, and were not at all inclined to extinguish themselves. Then there were the lessees—the Church Education Society committee. They were in immediate possession of the buildings, and their old feud with the National Board made them suspicious of any movement which might seem to tend towards placing the College under the Board's influence. Lastly, there were those members of the Church of Ireland, both numerous and influential, who, disliking controversy and antagonistic interests, were profoundly convinced of the necessity for a training college, and were prepared to back up whatever scheme seemed most likely to succeed. As to this Mr. Moore says:

"The leadership of this third part naturally devolved upon Lord Plunket. Closely associated with him were the Recorder of Dublin, Sir Frederick R. Falkiner, and Mr. W. G. Brooke.

To their earnest and successful efforts the present flourishing position of the college is due."

Just at this time the Kildare Place Training College committee was obliged to announce that it was no longer possible to carry on the training of both masters and mistresses, and it was made known that the male department would have to be closed for want of funds.

This announcement was like a trumpet blast in the ears of Lord Plunket. He hated retreat. His policy was ever constructive rather than destructive. He determined that this thing should never be, and as a first step he wrote a stirring letter to the papers, heading it with the words "NOW OR NEVER."

He began by stating that the committee of the Church of Ireland Training College had resolved at their personal risk to keep the male department open for another term, and to retain it permanently if sufficient support were forthcoming. He then made a most able and stirring appeal for that support, and ended by asking for friends to come forward and offer to pay the amount required for enabling a dozen—"or even half-a-dozen"—male students to be trained free of expense during the approaching session. He was prepared to pay the fee for one student. Were there any others willing to do the same? If so, let them remember it must be done *now or never.*

The result of this appeal was eminently satisfactory, and sufficient subscriptions came in to enable the committee to keep the male department open as before.

Meantime a committee of members of the Church

of Ireland had been formed, under Sir Frederick Falkiner's presidency, to make an effort to bring Church influence to bear upon the teachers of National schools, and especially, if possible, to do this work through the means of the Kildare Place Training College. This went by the name of "the Recorder's committee," and the plan which they proposed was to employ Kildare Place as a residence where Church students from the Marlborough Street College* might board, attending the Government professors' lectures at the latter place but receiving religious instruction at the former. On this point Mr. Moore says:

"To this plan the committee of the college made no objection, provided that the management of the buildings and of the students remained in their own hands. . . . Lord Plunket in particular welcomed the introduction of the Marlborough Street element, provided that it did not interfere with the maintenance of the college on its original lines.

"In the spring of 1883 the sanction of the Synod was obtained, and in the autumn of the same year the Bishop himself welcomed a class of eighteen male students to their new quarters."

In this same year the English system of denominational training colleges was extended to Ireland, and the Roman Catholics at once founded two colleges, one for masters and the other for mistresses.

A suggestion that a boarding-house should be established for mistresses at Kildare Place was unfavourably received under these new circumstances, and everything pointed to the adoption of a denominational college under Government. But, if it were to be

* Under the National Board.

under Government, it must have Government schools. That meant that the old model schools of Kildare Place and the Church Education Society must come under the control of the National Board! Again to quote Mr. Moore:

"To those who had taken an active part in the fierce warfare of the past it might well seem as if all would be lost were the flag of the enemy thus planted on the citadel. The difficulties of the situation were felt acutely by the Bishop. The boarding-house system he was able to defend unhesitatingly. It was, he said, a new departure, but a departure upon old principles. A denominational college, on the other hand, seemed to him to present immense difficulties. . . . Still, he approached it (to quote his own words of advice to others) in a 'large and unprejudiced spirit,' and he succeeded, in concert with his fellow-workers, in striking out a plan which went far towards avoiding even an appearance of a breach of continuity with the past.

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"He began to see that it ought to be possible to arrange for a *department*, which would still carry on the work of training for schools not in connection with the National Board. Thus the old traditions and the continuity would be preserved. Looked at in one way, the coming of the National Board to Kildare Place might spell defeat. But in another, was it not victory? Did it not promise to make Kildare Place once more the great educational centre? No longer the shattered mother of a dying cause, sending few teachers to few schools, but again a college whose influence was as wide as the boundaries of the Church. . . . The question asked by Lord Plunket, 'What can be done to meet reasonable men?' had found an answer which proved to be final and complete."

But there was still the General Synod to be faced. What would this body say to the proposal? All anxiety on this point was quickly set at rest. On a

motion of Mr. W. G. Brooke, the consent of the Synod was obtained without a division.

Now Lord Plunket felt free to begin to act. His energy and industry knew no bounds. Together with the Recorder and Mr. Brooke, he devoted the greater part of the summer to the work, and in company with the former he visited all the more important English training colleges in search of information. Finally, he had an immense work to do in internal organisation and renovation. There was the selection of the staff, as well as the renewal and refurnishing of the buildings. Mr. Moore gives a graphic description of the personal attention which Lord Plunket gave to these matters :

"My own introduction to him took place on July 18, 1884, under circumstances so characteristic of the man, and so expressive of the way he worked, as to suggest the fitness of placing them in this attempt to recall his many-sided educational activity.

"Together with some others, I had been summoned to appear before the committee which was entrusted with the work of reconstruction. The Bishop was in the chair. The charm of manner, to which all who met him testify, was at once felt. It placed you at your ease, and enabled you to give natural answers to the questions which he put. They were ordinary questions. There was, of course, the inquiry as to qualifications, but it was accompanied with a desire to discover the motives which impelled the candidates to seek the work of training teachers, and it led up to questions as to the means to be employed if the ideal was to be attained. Such an interview, even had it stood alone, would have been sufficient to stamp Lord Plunket's personality indelibly upon my memory.

"Upon leaving the room I was requested to give the address which would find me in the suburbs, but as I had little or no expectation that the choice of the committee would fall on me,

I took no steps to ascertain the decision. My deficiencies were made good by the Bishop. When I came back late in the evening his carriage was at the door. Anxious to lose no time in pushing forward the work in hand, he had stayed only for a hasty dinner, and had come to initiate me forthwith into my duties. Nor did my absence alter his intentions: he waited till I returned, and concluded a day's work, already over-busy, by unfolding in fullest detail the complicated threads of this organisation in which he was engaged, and by laying down definitely the lines of work upon which he considered it important that I should enter at once.

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"There remained the task of making the necessary arrangements for two great ceremonials within a few weeks of each other—one the opening of the schools, the other the opening of the college. These were the duties in which Lord Plunket bore the foremost part all through the fierce heat of the summer of 1884. To be close at hand, he came up from his Palace at Ardbraccan and took up his residence at Maple's Hotel, just opposite the college. Often he worked literally from early morning far into the night. There is even a legend to the effect that, after an unusually hard period of labour, he might be seen taking off his episcopal coat and falling to again. Certain it is that much even of the clerical work was done by his own hand. The appeals were his; the letters in the papers which accompanied them were his. To every question with regard to college constitution he gave his whole and undivided attention. The very resolutions in which such points came before the committee were generally in his handwriting. At last the day for the opening of the college drew on. With it the work of organisation terminated. None that were present are ever likely to forget that day, though few could have realised all it meant to him, the central figure, and to those who had shared his confidences and his labour. Gathered in the old school—the scene of so many ceremonials—a great assembly awaited the consummation of the work upon which the eyes of the whole Church had been fixed for months.

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"The ceremonial itself was simple but deeply impressive. With one of those touches of fine feeling which Lord Plunket showed throughout, he had proposed the aged Archbishop Trench as visitor of the college, and induced him to be present.

"As the hour approaches, the Bishop draws aside some of those who have borne the chief part in the preparation. Together they kneel while he offers up prayer and thanksgiving. Then they go to the quadrangle to receive the visitor. Lord Plunket, forgetful of himself and his own prominence on such a day, stands bareheaded to do honour to the venerable prelate."

After a short service, the college was declared open by the Archbishop in words of benediction and commendation. Several speeches followed. That of Lord Plunket contained several passages which must be recorded, by reason of the insight they give into the working of his mind on this vast subject of education. For example, he said:

"Some might feel that, because that was a denominational college, that was the beginning of an extension of denominationalism pure and simple in education throughout the land. He did not share that fear. If he did, he would not take the interest he did in the college, for he did not believe that denominationalism pure and simple would tend to the interest of liberal education throughout the country, and might be very prejudicial to the interest of members of the Church scattered through the land.

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"The present was the time in Ireland to see that education should be permeated through and through

by religion. Now was the time they should bring the whole influence of the Church to bear on the machinery of education placed at their disposal, and the way in which they could best carry out that design was by supporting an institution such as the college which was about to be declared open. It was a compromise in the true sense of the term. Not a compromise which meant abandonment of principle, but one joined in by those who were willing to take something less than they desired so that all might benefit the more. The very name of the college suggested a compromise between the Government and the Church. It was a Government denominational college. Therefore he hoped that they would all join in supporting an institution which brought religion and education together, and enabled them to go forth hand in hand to do the blessed work for which God intended them."

This extract is valuable as an example of his delight in compromise so long as nothing vital were yielded. It was closely connected with his desire for unity and *fraternisation* (as he called it), and was the outcome of one special side of his complex character—a side which tended to a seeking for good in others and a readiness to subdue any spirit of obstinate pride in himself—a readiness which is sadly conspicuous by its absence in many ecclesiastical controversialists.

To return to Mr. Moore's paper, he says:

"As Lord Plunket had foreseen, the breach which had lasted for fifty years was healed. Now that teachers for Church Education schools and for National schools were seen training side by side, both engaged in the same studies, whether

secular or religious, it was not possible to misread the lesson of unity thus taught. The bitterness of controversy died. A feeling of mutual help and fellowship reigned in its stead. 'Reasonable men' were once more at one.

"In the varying stages which marked the accomplishment of the work it is interesting to note the feelings which were uppermost with him to whom so much of the success was due.

"Not triumph but thankfulness ruled in his heart. We have seen him drawing others on the opening day to join their prayers with his. At the close of the first year's work, when, as manager of the college and Archbishop of Dublin, he received the news of the honours which had been won in the Government examinations, he lifted up his eyes with a fervent '*Laus Deo.*'

"Once more, when, in April 1887, after many and complicated negotiations, the scheme for the future government of the college, passed by the Educational Endowments Commission, was finally approved, and the whole of the Kildare Place site and any property still held by the old Kildare Place Society was transferred to the Church of Ireland Training College, the Archbishop marked the occasion by opening the meeting of the Board of Governors with a solemn offering up of the General Thanksgiving."

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATIONAL WORK—(CONTINUED)

IT remains to mention the actual buildings of the Training College. Lord Plunket was always intensely interested in building work. He is reported to have said that had he not been an ecclesiastic he would have chosen to be an architect. Such work exactly suited his constructive genius. At the same time his views were distinctly utilitarian. Music was his one art—if a certain taste for landscape gardening be excepted; and when the first new building (a dining-hall for the female students) was proposed, he supported the plainer of the two plans which were submitted. It may be that the extreme ugliness of the existing buildings had something to do with this. It may have seemed to him out of place to put up anything that could be described as artistic in contiguity with what was so utterly devoid of beauty. However, upon this point he ultimately gave way, and the present very pleasing hall was built, the funds being raised by a bazaar.*

* It is worth mentioning that the Archbishop was no condemner of this form of raising money. He went even further than this, and refused to disapprove of raffles, whereby he greatly shocked a large number of the community. The *Daily Telegraph* had a long leading article on the subject, making fun of the Archbishop's position, as the following extract will show: "Lord Plunket is of opinion that raffles have a wholesome tendency to prevent men and women from risking money on

The next thing for which the Archbishop appealed was a sum of money with which to erect a new wing for masters. This was obtained, and an ornamental building resulted. The contrast between the old and new portions of the college was thus further emphasised, and he took the keenest interest in an effort to make the whole college more worthy. Of the various improvements and additions that were made, two, the clock-tower and the cloisters, are said to have been almost his own design, so exact was he in suggesting and specifying what he wanted.

The dormitory accommodation still remained very poor, and this he determined to remedy. Plans were prepared, and in the careful examination of these Lord Plunket passed the last hours he ever spent in Kildare Place.

It is a fitting thing that the chief memorial to him in Dublin should be the beautifying of the front of the college, which has up till now presented a particularly plain face to the passer-by.

Mr. Moore has added some interesting remarks upon the Archbishop as a statesman. He says:

"As a peer of the realm Lord Plunket had, of course, a chance; and, as a proof of this, he is prepared to take a ticket in any number of future lotteries, because he has never won a single prize. . . Nor must the Archbishop be surprised if, after this avowal, he is overwhelmed with prospectuses and circulars of 'tombolas,' 'sweeps,' 'paris-mutuels,' and so forth, from all parts of the world . . . and it is quite within the probabilities that he will find himself being confidentially plied with 'tips' as to 'good things' by the fraternity of touts." As a matter of fact, Lord Plunket's refusal to condemn raffles was just one more example of his independence and determination to judge for himself, rather than let his mind run in a narrow groove, ecclesiastica or otherwise.

seat in the House of Lords. His duties as a bishop prevented his ever being regular in attendance, but, when the suitable occasion came, his political instinct never failed to show him how to bring the weight of his position to bear with full effect. It was generally his personal influence that he used, and it was great. . . . Upon one memorable occasion he used this particular influence with valuable results on behalf of the Training College. Towards the end of the session of 1891 Mr. A. J. Balfour, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, introduced a Bill for placing the denominational colleges on an equality with the Government college at Marlborough Street, so far as their buildings were concerned. The buildings at the latter had been erected at Government expense. It was proposed to refund to the colleges the sums which had been provided for their buildings out of private sources.

"Scarcely was this good news known, when it was announced that formidable opposition would be offered to the Bill on behalf of the Northern Presbyterians. Themselves satisfied with the undenominationalism of Marlborough Street, they objected to the equality proposed on behalf of denominational colleges. As the session was far advanced, it was manifest that the situation was critical. The Archbishop accordingly determined that no effort on his part should be wanting to insure the safety of the Bill. He went to London specially in the middle of July, and spent the rest of the month working the Press, drawing up parliamentary documents, attending the House, canvassing members, and interviewing the Government. The amount of hard clerical and physical work which he went through would be almost incredible to any one who had not witnessed it. He toiled early and late, never missing an opportunity of gaining a point. An incident which happened at this time, though slight in itself, throws an interesting light on the Archbishop's character. He was at the National Club, and was deeply engaged in writing a memorandum in support of the Government proposals. An old gentleman passing down the opposite side of the room dropped his spectacle-case and went on without missing it. The Archbishop rose, went

right across the room, picked it up, and restored it to its owner. However intent upon the business in which he was engaged, he was never unmindful of those about him."

On the evening of July 31 of that year he wrote a long letter to the chief London papers to explain the reasons why he considered that even the opponents of the denominational principle as applied to elementary schools should support the Training Colleges (Ireland) Bill. This letter was not despatched till midnight, and while it was actually being set up in the various printing offices the battle was won in Parliament, not by the passing of the exact measure proposed, but by the substitution of an equally favourable alternative in the shape of annual grants to the colleges.

It is impossible to omit some account of the work done by Lord Plunket as a member of the Board of Commissioners of National Education. He accepted the office of Commissioner in 1895, and was the first Irish bishop who had filled the post since the days of Whateley. No opposition to or criticism of his action was made. There were probably three reasons for this. In the first place, there was far less bitterness of feeling than had existed some years before; in the second place, his winning personality made his countrymen reluctant to cavil at him; but chiefly, he was greatly trusted by the Protestant party. This latter fact enabled him to carry out many schemes which would have been impossible otherwise; but, as will be seen immediately, the Protestants of Ireland were not ready to follow him everywhere. They trusted him and gave him a wonderfully free hand in many matters, but now and then they altogether

refused to follow where he led. This was notably the case in 1896, when an attempt was made by the Commissioners so to alter the rules with regard to the conscience clause as to make it possible for the Christian Brothers to come under the Board. This was such an important question that space must be found here for a short paper on the subject from the able pen of Sir Frederick R. Falkiner, the Recorder of Dublin:

"There was a debate in the General Synod of the Church of Ireland in 1896, the year before the Archbishop died, the source and course of which well exemplify the tenacity and temper of his character. In 1895 he had joined the Board of Commissioners of National Education, which has functions similar to those of the Committee of the Privy Council in England. Dr. Walsh, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, was also a member of the Board.

"The original basis of the Commissioners in 1832 was that of united secular and separate religious education. . . . This system, however, did not satisfy many denominationalists, and was denounced by many on both sides as 'godless,' though generally accepted by the Presbyterian bodies. After some years' trial the Board consented to recognise . . . . a modified system, practically that now existing in the voluntary schools in England in which the conscience clause prevails. Under this system the Board had for very many years a continually increasing success, until it had come to comprehend the great majority of the children of the country of the elementary school age. Nevertheless, there always remained a considerable section in both Churches to whom the system was not sufficiently denominational.

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"The Roman Catholic Teaching Order of Christian Brothers had, especially of late years, developed very high educational qualities. Their training in secular knowledge was highly

successful, and notwithstanding the allurements of parliamentary grants, their strictly denominational schools were filled with many children. The Church Education schools, too, continued their opposition to the National system, but with ever-decreasing numbers and decreasing means as the Church National schools grew and prospered. In 1896 the archbishops became anxious to modify the existing rules so as to embrace those schools on both sides which had hitherto stood aloof, so that they too might share in the Imperial grants. The Roman Catholic children who would thus be included were out of all proportion to the few hundreds of children in the Church Education schools, but Lord Plunket, ever loyal to old friends, and more especially to weak ones, was most anxious to give them recognition by the Board. The Commissioners drew up a careful and tentative programme, which they submitted for public consideration. This was received throughout the country with a very formidable and manifold opposition: by the old adherents of the original principle of united secular and separate religious instruction; by the Church school managers, who were satisfied with a denominationalism coupled with the conscience clause; by many who feared that the proposed change would lead towards an absolute sectarianism throughout the country; by many even of the Roman Catholic National teachers, who feared that their positions or prospects would be endangered by the comprehension and increase of the Christian Brother schools.

"In 1896 the question was submitted to the Standing Committee of the General Synod of the Church, who, after lengthened conferences, drew up a condensed and careful protest against the suggested rules. At the final meeting of the Standing Committee for the adoption of the protest the Archbishop was in the chair. He strongly opposed the protest, but found himself in a minority of four against some thirty of the protestors. Nothing daunted, when the resolution passed he quietly drew from his breast a counter-protest, drawn up at great length and with expanded argument, which he read to the meeting. Next morning, when the report appeared in the

newspapers, the terse protest of the committee, which was in a few short paragraphs intended for members of the Government and of Parliament, was printed with the counter-protest of the Archbishop appended, and signed by the minority of four, in equally large print and with all its unabbreviated reasoning, so that to the casual reader it might seem to strangle the protest of the majority. In this state of things the question was remitted to a special convention of the General Synod of the Church, at which the Archbishop again presided in the absence of the Primate. Notwithstanding the large majority against him in the Standing Committee, he still had strong hopes of persuading the Synod to support him, for two very eminent gentlemen of great weight in all Irish questions, one of whom was an eminent member of the Board of National Education, had given him their acquiescence, and he fully and not unreasonably reckoned on their presence to support the counter-protest that day. As the debate progressed it was pretty evident that the general opinion was strongly with the Standing Committee and opposed to the projected changes, and the Archbishop from his president's chair might be seen casting anxious glances at the door, seeking the presence of his two right honourable friends. They were, however, both detained by public duties elsewhere, and the Archbishop had to look in vain—like Napoleon yearning for Grouchy's advent at Waterloo.

"When Lord Plunket at last put the protest of the Standing Committee, it was greeted with a roar of 'Ayes' from every quarter of the crowded Synod hall. Then to the 'Noes' came one single round '*NO*,' like *Athanasius contra mundum*. Perhaps the pain of a defeat was never more pathetically seen than on the Archbishop's face as he declared the protest carried. He sat for a few moments with his chin resting upon his hand, seeming lost in thought. The writer, who usually supported him in all his measures in which his laymen friends took share, walked up to him and, pressing his hand, said earnestly, 'Well, your Grace, I was sorrowfully compelled to be against you in this matter, but, whatever the result may be, or whatever any

one may think, no man has ever been able to say that Plunket Dublin does not stand to his guns.' His beautiful countenance kindled at once, as when sunshine comes through November clouds, and, taking his friend by the arm, he said, 'Well, I never got such a beating in my life! Come away; come home with me.' Not one word of reproach or chagrin towards any one did he then or ever afterwards utter; not a cold glance did he cast even on those of his own clergy on whom he might naturally have calculated to vote with him. The loving-kindness, the manly recognition of the right of every one, however dependent on him, to think and act according to his conscience, was exhibited on this occasion by him as in every other instance: and this characteristic would not be so worthy of our love and admiration if we did not know how keenly he felt for the cause he himself espoused, how utterly he believed in it, and how deeply he deplored its defeat."

This must have been a truly pathetic scene. The tall, slight figure of the Archbishop, now not far from his seventieth year, but as upright as ever, with the same Irish blue eyes and handsome features as were described as characteristic of him as a boy, left absolutely alone in that crowded assembly. He was, in a certain sense, accustomed to solitariness, for he was by nature a reserved man. It has been said of him that "few, if any, ventured so to obtrude on his notice as to draw him out or induce him to depart from the ceremonious walk of an ecclesiastic of high position"; but, for all that, no one could resist him. "He would win a bird off a bush," was the verdict of a well-known Presbyterian friend of his; and certain it is that on that memorable occasion in the Synod, when all men were against him, there was probably not one single individual who did not entertain a warm personal affection for him.

There is another point to which special attention must be called. The alteration in the rules for which he had been contending would have worked mainly in one direction—viz., towards improving the position of the schools of the Christian Brothers, the most rigid of all Roman Catholic educational institutions. This is just an example of the liberal spirit which, in spite of much apparent evidence to the contrary, pervaded his mind on all subjects. The fact that he persevered to the end, in spite of overwhelming opposition and the desertion of his few supporters, until he was left to utter his emphatic NO amid a complete silence, is an instance of that other quality—viz., an unswerving determination to keep to the path which he had marked out, which is seen in the action which he took concerning the Spanish Church, and which has been seen to be a distinct inheritance from his grandfather, the old lord.

Of his work as an Education Commissioner Mr. Moore says:

"He accepted the office as a call of duty. During the years he sat at the Board he laboured hard. It was his custom to consult with those he trusted whenever points of difficulty arose. He studied carefully beforehand the questions which came up for settlement at the weekly meetings of the Board. Some of the warmest testimonies to his personal influence, and the respectful love which his courteous and chivalrous bearing evoked, were borne by men of different creeds and different politics with whom he co-operated as a Commissioner. 'Life is the sweeter for his life,' was the way in which the feeling at the Education Office was summed up by one of the high officials."

There were also other minor works in connection

with education which must not be altogether passed over, as they received from him the same careful attention which he gave to all the duties that lay in his path. Mr. Moore says:

"For many years the School for Educating the Daughters of the Irish Clergy had been conducted as a separate institution. The disadvantages of such an arrangement were apparent. The limited numbers of the school prohibited educational strength. Its constitution promoted the disabilities inseparable from a community limited to a single class. It was Lord Plunket's happiness to provide for both these difficulties a solution eminently satisfactory. His plan was to connect the institution with the principal girls' schools under Church management in the Dublin Alexandra School. For this purpose the house which had formed his Dublin residence before he became Archbishop was made available. It adjoins the school. In this way the isolation of the daughters of the clergy ceased, and they entered upon educational advantages of the highest order.

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"With the boys at St. Columba's College he was an especial favourite. Every Easter he held a Confirmation there, and, though the addresses from a schoolboy's standpoint must have seemed strangely long, those who heard him always felt drawn to him with affection and respect."

Such was Archbishop Plunket's educational work. To those who have little interest in such matters it may seem to have occupied many pages, but to those who realise the importance of what he did, and the grave crisis in Irish educational matters in which he was called upon to take a leading part, this account will appear all too brief and inadequate.

Of all his work, this was, as has been already said, probably the most important and most lasting. Even

those who were in ecclesiastical matters most at variance with him must allow that he was obviously raised up by God to bring about a reconciliation and construct a scheme of future work, which it would have been impossible for any one not endowed with his special gifts to have accomplished. Here, as in the case of the troubled times succeeding disestablishment, his great personal charm, his often-quoted "genius for compromise," his horror of a *de*structive and love for a *con*structive policy, and his untiring perseverance, all combined in the one man, made him the necessary leader without whom both the Irish Church and Irish Church education would have been in a very different position to-day.

He was fully aware of the importance of the work. A close personal friend writes:

"When his election to the Archbishopric of Dublin was pending in the balance, I said to him, 'Well, at all events, whatever happens, to you will always be attributed the founding of the Church of Ireland Training College.' He rose out of his armchair, stood up, and said, 'If I were given my choice which I would prefer to be, Archbishop of Dublin or founder of the college, I would choose to found the college!"

CHAPTER XIII

LORD PLUNKET AN IRISHMAN

BEFORE passing to the large and important subject of Lord Plunket's work in connection with various of the reformed Churches on the Continent, it may be well to attempt to obtain a more complete idea of his complex character. This has appeared in glimpses here and there throughout the foregoing pages, but for a clear understanding of what he *was* rather than of what he *did* it will be well to gather up all the various evidences afforded, and to form as true a picture of him as possible.

To start with, he was a thorough Irishman. "For good and for evil," says one who knew him intimately, "he was Irish to the core." The very mixture of race in him was characteristic of many of the best men whom Ireland has turned out. It has been seen in the early chapters of this book that, while from his grandfather, the first Lord Plunket, he inherited some of the characteristics of the tough Presbyterians of the north, from his mother's family he got the gaiety, polish, and *savoir-faire* of the southern Irish aristocracy. This will account in great measure for some of the remarkable contrasts which he presented. Only to mention a few of these: is it not astonishing that a man who

appears to have been in many ways pathetically "alone," and who is so often described as having a certain "aloofness" about him, should at the same time have been so extraordinarily winning that none could come in contact with him without finding themselves under the spell of his affectionate nature? To very few did he ever open his heart entirely: again and again he walked along the path of what he believed to be his duty without looking for, or at all events without obtaining, much sympathy. To the members of his own family he was often completely reserved as to matters that were interesting him intensely; and yet he was the most loving father and brother and the most delightful companion imaginable. Another remarkable contrast is found in the consistent piety of his life and his reluctance to speak much in the course of everyday life about religious matters. This would not be so remarkable were it not borne in mind that his whole surroundings and tone of mind were essentially Evangelical. As to his sustained piety of life there is plenty of evidence. In 1850 he was abroad with several relations, and it is well remembered that, no matter how early the start had to be for train or *diligence*, he used invariably to rise an hour beforehand so as to obtain time for his Bible-reading and prayer. At a later day the following letter (unfortunately undated) tells much the same story:

[*To his Mother.*]

"ACHILL HOTEL, *Friday evening.*

"MY DEAREST MOTHER,

"We left Newport this morning at 11½ o'clock,

having slept well and feeling quite fresh and ready for our drive to Achill, and arrived here this afternoon, having had a most delightful drive—beautiful weather and beautiful scenery. I feel this morning better, thank God, than I have felt, I think, for some months. . . . As they proceed [he and his companion, Mr. Richard Greene, who married a sister of the late Archbishop] the island of Achill bursts upon their view—and, and—to cut everything short—they cross the sound and get into Sullivan's hotel by five : one of them is in bed asleep, and the other will be, he hopes, in two or three or ten minutes.

"Your most affectionatestissimus,

"WILLIAM."

"P.S.—I have found great changes here since I was here last. Many persons gone away : many strange faces in their places : one of my old friends, I am sorry to say, *dead*. I do not speak thoughtlessly when I pray that I may not lose the lesson which all this should teach, 'One shall be taken and the other left.' Richard and I read prayers and a chapter in the morning and the evening together, which binds us to one another closer every day, and gives us something to talk about on our journeys. Good-bye once more."

Compare this letter with that which he wrote to his mother when the suggestion was made to him that he should be Bishop of Meath, in which the reference to the deeper aspect of the proposal is of the slightest, and with the fact that those who were much about him during the years of his episcopacy note his reserve in

speaking about spiritual matters, and the contrast is striking enough.

Then, again, it is impossible to help noticing that, while romantic and sentimental, like most Irishmen, and while devoted to music, in many ways he was inartistic and utilitarian to a surprising degree. He was fond of brilliant colours, and considered the taste for more subdued and harmonious tints to be more or less of "a sham," and anything not absolutely true was utterly hateful to him. It will be remembered that, in the case of the buildings of the Kildare Place Training College, his influence went at first entirely on the inartistic and utilitarian side, but that he gave way to the pressure which was brought to bear. It is not forgotten that he had some taste for landscape gardening, and more will be said about this in the chapter on Old Connaught, but here again he frequently displayed an absence of a sense of true art. At the same time he was exceedingly romantic. Much of his poetry shows this, and there can be little doubt that one of the great attractions which the work for the Spanish Reformed Church possessed for him was just its romance. His affection for mother, wife, children, friends, was of a most romantic nature, finding expression now and then in letters, now and then in verse. The imaginative appealed to him in everything. Though never the least morbid, he loved sad fancies, and wrote many of his most touching poems on the pictures which he called up of the sufferings of the peasantry in a time of famine, or the anguish of those parted by the hand of death. But with all this imaginative genius and sentiment, due to the Irish blood in him,

there was continually cropping up a vein of common sense and practical determination. Yet another complication of character must be noticed. There were times when he had the true Hibernian gift of combativeness. Once he made a cause really his own. all opposition merely served to increase his tenacity of purpose. He certainly did not love fighting for fighting's sake—as some Irishmen do—but when he was withstood by those whom he considered to have no right to withstand him, and when he was thoroughly in love with his undertaking, then he was nothing loth to enter the lists. On some occasions his patriotism had much to do with this trait. Take the Spanish Reformed Church question as an example. In this matter, as is well known, he was bitterly opposed by a large section of the English Church, and was urged by many of his brother bishops of that body to give up his undertaking. Not only was he absolutely convinced, as will be seen hereafter, that he was right, but there was probably a fear lest the Church of England should presume to try to dictate to her sister of Ireland; and this combination of sentiment caused him to be as unbending and even combative a leader in the cause as can be found in the history of any, even ecclesiastical, movement.

With all this—note the contrast—he was the gentlest of men, and his greatest work was invariably achieved in the *rôle* of a peacemaker. It was thus that he was enabled to bestow upon the Church of Ireland what have been described as his two greatest gifts—viz., "that kindly spirit which now exists between the two chief parties in the Irish Church,

and the reconstruction of the Irish primary school system."

Of his gentleness to his fellow men examples might be given which would fill a volume. No conversation can be held with any who knew him personally, no letter can be received that mentions his name, which does not contain some words of love and gratitude for the gentleness and consideration, the self-forgetfulness and generosity he had shown.

One writer remembers how, when a mere lad, he first found himself in the same room with Lord Plunket (then Bishop of Meath), when a large party was present; and how, being the person of least importance, he was singled out by the Bishop, who made a point of talking to him and preventing him from feeling lonely or awkward. Another tells how he had work to do for Lord Plunket, and how his mistakes and shortcomings were borne with the utmost patience, and he was encouraged by the gentle and generous treatment to become more efficient. Yet another relates how, when he was a curate in Dublin, the doctors ordered him complete rest and change of scene. He resigned his curacy and applied for a Continental chaplaincy. His wife, in his absence, told Lord Plunket, then Archbishop, what he had been obliged to do. The reply was prompt: "Your husband must not take a chaplaincy. I wish him to have complete rest, and desire you to write and ask him to ascertain how much it will cost you and him to go to any place the doctors recommend for three months. I shall gladly bear the expense."

The working men who served him at Old Connaught

and elsewhere bear witness that they never heard a hard word from him; and it was the same with every one with whom he came in contact. His was the mildest rule and his the most lenient judgment. He seemed ever to have that scene before his eyes when One said, "He that is without sin amongst you, let him first cast a stone at her." It was an inheritance from his mother, who never could bear to hear a harsh word said, but it was a strange contrast to that sterner and more combative side which has been described.

An amusing little story is told in illustration of Lord Plunket's extreme dislike to ill-natured remarks, even when made in jest.

He one day invited Canon A. and Canon B. to occupy seats in his carriage on their return from some ecclesiastical function. Canon A. in the course of conversation mentioned his father, who had been a Dublin clergyman, and described him as one who was ever active in good works. "Ah!" said Canon B., "what a pity that Canon A. did not take after his father!" Although the Archbishop did not attribute malice, yet he did not like the remark, and, looking away through the open window, he very quietly asked, "Was Canon B.'s father a particularly courteous individual?" To which came the irrelevant but amusing reply from Canon B., "Oh, your Grace, my father was not a clergyman at all!"

This complex character, and especially the sweetness and winsomeness which were his in such abundance, are surely to be ascribed to the fact that he was heart and soul an Irishman. English people are sometimes accused of a lack of appreciation of their neighbours

across St. George's Channel. This is not altogether true. They are slower to respond, slower to blaze up into a flame of love or hate, and probably appear to Irish minds cold and indifferent; but, however much they may disagree on grounds of religion or politics, or both, it is difficult to find an Englishman who will not say of his Irish friends that they have a charm and brilliancy and warmth of affection which is as great a wonder as it is a delight to all who know them. These Lord Plunket had in full measure, as has been seen. But he had some other special gifts which he owed to his nationality. Here some words written by a personal friend will best take up the tale:

"He had the Irish power of 'making the best of things.' Whether it were in the great sorrows and anxieties of a long life, or in the petty vexations of daily intercourse with men of every kind, he shone as an optimist of the first water. He could work with the *bluntest instruments*, and would put up with serious personal inconvenience if he had made up his mind that a man or woman was to be retained in his service. He could adapt himself alike to circumstances, as seen at the time of the disestablishment, as to individuals, even to 'queer sort of people,' of whose failings he was well aware. [To say that a man was 'a queer sort of person' was the harshest expression of which he would as a rule make use.] Again, he had the negative side of this Irish virtue of adaptability. Lord Plunket had a disregard and dislike of *method* [he was never a good man of business]. . . . In private life his disregard for the simplest rules of health went a long way towards cutting short his valuable life. . . .

"Lastly, there is one virtue of the Irish people which there is no gainsaying. Alike in their physical beauty and in their keen intelligence we see in God's own handwriting that they are a *chaste* race, and have been so for countless generations.

Were I asked to give the dear Archbishop's noblest, sweetest trait, I should say he was the chastest, cleanest-minded man I ever knew. There was a chivalry about him which rose up in arms against all that was foul or base. Face to face with impurity, he at once became *strong*. There was no touch of weakness about him when he was told of certain charges against a friend of his, and at once exclaimed, 'Why, he is to dine with me to-night! That man *can't* dine with me!' And he did not. This pure-mindedness and chivalry from his early youth gave him considerable power both with men and with women. The 'average man' was rather afraid of him, I think, and largely on this ground. Women, on the other hand, were, as a rule, attracted by the beautiful simplicity and perfect frankness of his manner. They felt instinctively that they had a brother and protector in the Archbishop. Such a man naturally made a good husband, and devotion to Lady Plunket during all the years of their married life is a marked trait in his career."

In connection with this beautiful quality in Lord Plunket's life, a few words need to be said about the work for "social purity" which he conducted. It was about the year 1885 that Miss Ellice Hopkins visited Dublin, and the movement was taken up warmly by many of the best clergy and laity, with Lord Plunket at their head. A Dublin Association for the Promotion of Social Purity was formed, and a Vigilance Committee appointed. Lord Plunket's exquisite personal purity shone out all the more brightly amid the squalid facts with which he had to deal in the course of this work. Occasionally some serious scandal would arise, and then his marvellous power of manipulating men steered the infant association through what looked like times of grave crisis. Then, again, his merciful judgment of his fellow men was never more conspicuous than in his dealings with these most painful

matters. On one occasion a person accused of immorality denied his guilt, although the evidence was clear and overwhelming. His accusers were furious, and demanded that the wretched man should be at once brought to justice. Hearing of this, the Archbishop said, "Do try to get these men to understand that after all this unfortunate man is a weak brother for whom Christ died." So touchingly spoken were these simple words, that one who was present and heard them was unable to refrain from tears.

Add to all these things that mother-wit and love of fun which have been described in earlier chapters, and a picture is presented of a man attractive above all others—even all other Irishmen.

And he was proud of his nationality. His patriotism was one of the keynotes of his character. He felt keenly for the honour of Ireland. His bitterest thoughts (not *very* bitter even then) were for those English statesmen who seemed to him to slight his country. Few things affronted him more than the common Irish vice of depreciating things Irish to the glorifying of things English. This he regarded as one of the worst forms of snobbery. Again and again, in sermons and lectures and charges, and indeed on all public occasions, his patriotism found voice. In 1873 it formed the subject of a lecture he delivered to a branch of the Church of Ireland Young Men's Christian Association. It has been fitly described as "instinct with love of country." He began by saying: "Now, if there be a nervously-minded person in this room, I can well imagine him saying to himself as he hears this announcement [*i.e.*, that he was to lecture on

"Patriotism"], 'What a singularly dangerous and explosive subject for a lecturer to bring before an Irish audience!'" He proceeded to reassure any such person by declaring that he would make no allusion to "Home Rule" or any other equally inscrutable political problem. His desire simply was to light a flame of genuine patriotism in the hearts of the young men present, and no more eloquent means could have been taken of doing so. After appealing to their special love for "Old Ireland," he touched upon her part in the Imperial nationality—in an Empire on whose dominions the sun never sets. Turning from this, he made pathetic reference to the special spot beloved of every man—his native county, his native city, or his native *home*. From many poets he brought instances of the strength of this affection, laying special stress on Goldsmith's words:

> "Such is the Patriot's boast where'er we roam,
> His first best *country* ever is at *home*."

Then he warned his hearers against loving one corner of their native land, and yet not loving their *country*. "Such a love," he said, "is not patriotism—it is provincialism."

From love of country he passed easily to love of that country's Church. He sketched her history; he filled his hearers' minds with all the most interesting and romantic accounts of persons and of places sacred in the records of the Church of Ireland. He quoted the names of many Irish ecclesiastics of vast influence and learning on either side of the Channel. He rejoiced at the staunch friendship for the Irish Church

of the two English Archbishops, though he could not refrain from quoting some words which declared that, as regards the large number of their English neighbours, "They do not understand us—they never understood us—and until that heaving channel which frightens them from our shores has been bridged over, or its troublesome waves quieted—they never will understand us": words which are true enough to-day, and are a strong argument for the formation of that tunnel which it is said will be one of the great engineering triumphs of the near future. Upon this basis of patriotism he ended by appealing for unity in the Church, declaring that if only Irish Churchmen would show themselves to be patriots, there would be a readiness to yield everything except principle for the preservation of unity and peace in the Church. The whole lecture, which is of considerable length, was published, and is well worth studying for Lord Plunket's polished style of writing as well as for the stirring sentiments and pathetic allusions it contains.

Perhaps no better example of his patriotism can be given than some lines which we wrote to the German air *Im Kühlen Keller sitz ich:* chorus, *Und trinke, trinke, trinke,* and which he called "A Patriot's Rebuke." They will also serve as a good instance of his style of versifying, for many quotations from which there is unfortunately not room in this volume. Here are the lines:

"Ye sons of Erin! who despise
The mother land that bare you,
Who nothing Irish love or prize,
Give ear: I will not spare you!

The stranger's jeer I do not fear,
But can I pardon ever
Those who revile their native Isle?
Oh! never—never—never!

That persons so refined and grand
As you are should belong to
This very low and vulgar land
Is sad, and very wrong, too!
But 'tis too late to mend your fate,
Irish you are for ever—
You'll wipe that shame from off your name
Oh! never—never—never!

Well, then, what do you hope to win
In spite of all your labours,
By meanly cutting kith and kin
And courting prouder neighbours?
Ah no! dear sirs, he sadly errs
Who tries to be too clever:
Mark what I say, it will not pay,
Oh! never—never—never!

From Irish soil you love to roam,
But just let me remind you,
You'll nowhere find a happier home
Than what you leave behind you!
The world explore from shore to shore,
'Twill be a vain endeavour;
On scenes so bright you'll never light,
Oh! never—never—never!

Go point me out on any map
A match for green Killarney,
Or Kevin's Bed, or Dunlo's Gap,
Or mystic shades of Blarney,
Or Antrim's caves, or Shannon's waves:
Ah me! I doubt if ever

An Isle so fair was seen elsewhere:
Oh! never—never—never!

Where will you meet with lads more true,
Or where with truer lasses?
Those genial hearts, those eyes of blue,
Pray tell me what surpasses?
You may not grieve such joys to leave,
Or care such ties to sever,
But friends more kind you'll never find,
Oh! never—never—never!

When strutting through some larger town
Than your own native city,
Some bigger men you may hunt down,
And bore them—more's the pity!
But 'tis not state that makes men great,
And, should you fawn for ever,
You'll never rise in good men's eyes,
Oh! never—never—never!

And now, my friends, go if you will
And visit other nations,
But leave your hearts in Erin still
Among your poor relations!
The spot of earth that gave you birth
Resolve to love for ever,
And you'll repent that good intent
Oh! never—never—never!"

But although Lord Plunket was a true patriot—or perhaps *because* of the reality of his patriotism—he was no Home Ruler.

Early in 1893 the country was threatened with Mr. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill. The Archbishop took a leading part in opposition to the proposal. He corresponded with the Duke of Abercorn on the advis-

ability of sending a deputation of Irish Nonconformists to England to assist in opening the eyes of the English to the feeling of a large minority of the population in Ireland, and in every other way possible lent his influence and gave freely of his work and of his time to prevent what he felt would be an overwhelming disaster to his beloved country.

On the 14th of March in that year a special meeting of the General Synod was held in Dublin to frame and sign a petition to Parliament against the Bill. Curiously enough, the only other occasion on which it had been found necessary to summon a special meeting of that body had been in 1886, when Mr. Gladstone for the first time introduced his Home Rule proposals.

After attending a celebration of the Holy Communion in Christ Church Cathedral, the members assembled in vast numbers in the adjoining Synod Hall, where it is stated that "the scene was an impressive one, suggesting in a solemn and forcible manner that great interests were in peril, and that a determined struggle was about to be made to avert the evil day."

Eloquent and forcible speeches were the order of the day, and although Lord Plunket had to follow such men as the Bishop of Derry, the Earl of Belmore, the Provost of Trinity, and others, he delivered one of the finest of his many oratorical efforts. Not to be ranked among the most silver-tongued of his gifted family, not, for instance, possessing the marvellous eloquence of the old Lord Chancellor or of the present Lord Rathmore, he had nevertheless inherited much of the persuasive and commanding speech which

belonged to his forefathers, and upon this occasion he is considered to have excelled himself. When speaking in public he was usually slow and dignified. He had a little trick, which many will remember, of fidgeting all the time with a seal upon his watch-chain. His delivery was often monotonous, but the extreme charm of his voice rendered this less observable. He took immense pains with the preparation of his speeches, and usually had his headings upon a number of loose slips of paper. As may be supposed, he was far more at his ease with an Irish than with an English audience, of whose coldness and want of sympathy he frequently complained. Two things he specially disliked when speaking: one was a clock in any prominent position, so that people could turn and look at it; the other was the presence of reporters. Of these he used to say, "They always take down the wrong part of my speeches, or put a meaning into my words which no one but a reporter could have discovered."

On this occasion there must have been a good many of these alarming persons present, but he was speaking to an Irish audience on a subject which stirred the hearts of all, and he evidently forgot everything except Ireland and the dangers which threatened her. The motion which he rose to move was thus worded:

"That we call on all true Irish patriots, who have the welfare and dignity of their native land at heart, to repudiate a measure which, under semblance of Home Rule, imposes new political disabilities, injurious commercial restrictions, and many conditions at once vexatious and humiliating; and we believe that all parties in Ireland would even prefer a measure of total separation, with all its risks and evils, rather than consent to

the ignominious terms of apparent independence, and actual political vassalage, offered under this Bill."

The very reading of such words was enough to set a light to his patriotism, and his opening sentences were full of eloquence.

"It is because we are patriots and because we love our country that we protest with all the energy and all the indignation of our nature against a Bill which, if carried into effect, would inflict upon our native land financial ruin, national degradation, intestine strife, and, it may be, civil war.

* * * * *

"I contemplate with terror the thought of the possible fratricidal strife that the introduction of such a Bill might cause. At the present moment, thank God, if we were only left alone, there seems to be every prospect of prosperity and peace. . . . Within the last few weeks I have stood upon three platforms with fellow-citizens of all denominations and all political creeds—combined together for the purpose of advancing some cause for the benefit of our country; and now it fills me, as I am sure it does all of you, with pain and indignation to think that just at this moment there should come among us a statesman, whom I can only describe as a political incendiary with this Bill in his hand to light up the flame of division and strife in our native land!"

The whole speech is too long to quote here, but, after he had exposed the "sham" nature of the Bill, he made a stirring appeal to English Nonconformists to put aside their purely political prejudices and to

examine the measure carefully for themselves, when they would see what grievous wrong it would entail upon their Irish friends.

"I appeal" (he said) "earnestly to these brethren in the name of justice and truth. And in default of all other help, I appeal to the Almighty God of Justice, who reigneth though the people be never so unquiet. We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that Thou hast done in their day and in the old time before them. O Lord, arise, help us and deliver us for Thy name's sake—and for Thine honour too!"

That this cry for help was heard and answered is proved by the fate which speedily overtook Mr. Gladstone's proposals.

The Irish archbishops and bishops in this time of anxiety received a resolution from the conference of the bishops of the Church of Scotland. This interesting document was found among Lord Plunket's papers, and was presumably forwarded to him by the Bishop of Glasgow, as there is a note from the latter pinned to the formal resolution and marked "Acknowledged June 6," in the same manner as most letters received by Lord Plunket. The Scottish bishops sent to their brethren in Ireland an expression of their sympathy and grave concern in the pressing dangers with which they were threatened at that juncture. All the bishops of the Scottish Church signed this resolution, with the exception of the Bishop of Argyll, who was absent in the East.

It is worth noticing, while on this subject, that not

only did Lord Plunket take a leading part in 1893 in opposing Home Rule, but that at the ordinary meeting of the Synod of the Church of Ireland in the spring of the previous year he also delivered a weighty speech on the same subject, some words in which caused a great outcry in the Roman Catholic Press. The shortest way of describing the incident will be to quote a passage from the *Irish Catholic* for Saturday, May 7, 1892.

"'THE WOLVES.'.

"LORD PLUNKET'S ATTACK ON THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

"The following is a portion of Lord Plunket's address at the opening of the Protestant General Synod. . . . It will be observed that the Protestant Archbishop distinctly applied the title 'wolves' to Catholics as distinguished from Protestants, although he made a slight reservation in favour of some among our co-religionists. He said:

"'There are others who say that Ulstermen are about to desert the rest of Ireland. They are going to organise themselves in their own province, and let their brethren in the other provinces be thrown to wolves. . . . Taking the numbers of our Church, there are a quarter of a million of Protestants to be found in the other three provinces outside Ulster: this is not an insignificant minority, to say nothing of other Protestants to be found there, amongst whom I am pleased to say there is a happy union; and, besides, there are many Roman Catholics who themselves have no desire to be thrown to the wolves.'"

This incident is noteworthy as showing that there really was an idea mooted of a separate treatment for Ulster, a complication which was scarcely credited and which Lord Plunket thus forcibly condemned.

It is almost strange, after considering the brave and

truly patriotic stand made by the Archbishop on the Home Rule question, to find him two or three years afterwards on another platform. On December 28, 1896, a large meeting representative of the city of Dublin and the metropolitan county was held in the Mansion House, Dublin, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, for the purpose of supporting the movement to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland. Lord Plunket occupied a seat on the platform, and spoke as seconder to the resolution demanding special legislation to meet the just financial claims of Ireland. In one respect the Archbishop must have felt specially happy on the occasion. Always desirous of cultivating unity and friendly relations between men of opposite opinions, it must have been a sincere gratification to him to find himself a comrade in arms with the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr. John Dillon, M.P., Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., Mr. T. Harrington, M.P., Archbishop Walsh, The O'Connor Don, and others, who occupied the other seats upon the platform.

No doubt a certain number of Irish Unionists still cherish the belief that Ireland should receive separate financial treatment, but it is strange to realise that Lord Plunket, the staunchest opponent of Home Rule, was so far blinded by his patriotism as not to see that if Ireland is not a part of the United Kingdom for one purpose, she is not for another, and that by his speech and influence in 1896 he was doing his best to undo the effect of his words and work in 1893.

Lord Plunket always included his allegiance to the

Church of Ireland in his great-hearted patriotism, and there came a time when, as Archbishop of Dublin, he was consulted by the late Lord Carnarvon, at that period Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, as to the designation of the disestablished Church. The Government of the day seems to have doubted whether in official documents the Irish Church ought to receive the same titles, &c., as of old. Nothing could have more deeply stirred the feelings of Lord Plunket and his fellow-Churchmen: at the same time his "working for peace," so conspicuous in almost all the vexed questions in which he was engaged, is clearly shown in his reply to the Lord-Lieutenant. The correspondence is of such interest that it may well conclude this chapter on the Archbishop as an Irishman and a patriot.

"VICEREGAL LODGE, DUBLIN,
"*July* 24, 1885.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"You are aware that the official designation of the disestablished Church of Ireland is a question which is forced upon my consideration. I know how much feeling a decision on this point must awaken, and I am sure you know also how extremely reluctant I should be by any official act to give pain to those with whom I have so deep a sympathy.

"At the same time I know that the question must be decided, if not by me yet by others, and perhaps it is best in the interests of all parties to arrive at an early conclusion.

"It would be a great satisfaction to me to know the feeling of the Church as represented in its authoritative Synod; but, as this cannot be for some time to come, I should be very glad if your Grace would give me the benefit of your opinion associated with that of any whom you may call into counsel, and whose judgment in such a case would command weight.

"I feel that I occupy in this matter a double position—per-

sonally, as a member of your communion, officially, as the head of the Irish Government; but this letter is, as I have marked it, private, though you are free to show it in confidence to any whom you desire to consult.

"I remain, my dear Lord,

"Yours very faithfully,

"CARNARVON."

"BRESLIN'S HOTEL, BRAY,

"*July* 30, 1885.

"DEAR LORD CARNARVON,

"Since the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 24th I have been endeavouring to ascertain the feeling of influential Churchmen on the point referred to in that communication. So many of those whom I should have wished to consult are absent at this season from Dublin, that I have found opportunity of speaking to only one or two.

"But without pushing the inquiry further, I think it well, as your Excellency desires (naturally) a prompt reply, to state the result so far as it goes. I cannot, of course, make any authoritative statement on the part of our Church, but will give you my own opinion as to the present feeling of Irish Churchmen on this subject. Undoubtedly the minds of men within our Church are just now deeply stirred. They argue thus:

"Besides the higher claims to the present title of our Church which the State may not be bound to recognise, we appeal to the fact that we are designated by that title in several recent Acts of Parliament, and no contrary decision on the part of those who administer these Acts can override the Acts themselves.

"Moreover, in reply to a remonstrance on the part

of our General Synod at its last meeting, the justice of our claims would seem to have been recognised by State functionaries. Under these circumstances, until the State rescinds its decision, or until our General Synod abandons its claims, no individual members of our community can be expected to sanction any departure from what we believe to be the law both of the State and of our Church. On the contrary, we can scarcely be blamed if we should feel bound to publicly record our protest against such an innovation.

"In the above words I have, in my opinion, fairly described the view taken of this question by the large majority of Irish Churchmen at the present time. And, if I might presume to offer a suggestion, it would be this: that as far as *possible* anything of the nature of a manifesto on the part either of the Church or of the State should for the present be avoided.

"As regards the Church, it is plain that, in the face of the action of the General Synod, no body of Churchmen (even should they desire it) could either formally or informally *sanction* a reversal of the decision of that Synod. At the same time it is evidently most desirable to prevent anything in the form of public controversy, or protest on the part of the Church *in opposition* to what State functionaries may deem it wise or right to do.

"On the other hand, as regards the State and those who administer its laws, it would, I venture to think, be well if whatever it may be found necessary to do should be done in such a manner as to provoke the *minimum* of public criticism. The time may come when some further expression of authoritative opinion

on the one side or the other may become unavoidable, but in this stage of a dying Parliament and in this interval between the meetings of our Synod the opportunity for anything like a satisfactory arrangement does not seem to present itself.

"Meanwhile those on the one side or the other, who desire the triumph of 'peace with honour' in the domain both of Church and State will do their best to allay excitement and promote brotherly love. . . .

"I remain, with much respect,

"Yours faithfully,

"PLUNKET DUBLIN."

CHAPTER XIV

THE SPANISH QUESTION

THE work by which Lord Plunket became best known to the world at large was undoubtedly that which he did on behalf of certain reformed Churches on the Continent, notably that of Spain, though both Portugal and Italy owe much to his labours in their cause.

It is less pleasant to record the history of this work than that of many other of the Archbishop's arduous undertakings. And this not because the motives which actuated him were not then, as always, the highest possible, and not because the measure of success which he attained was necessarily limited, but because it is difficult not to reopen sores which it may fairly be hoped have been healed by time, and not to hold up the great High Church party of the Church of England to some ridicule for the extraordinary state of excitement into which they threw themselves on the subject. But this it will be necessary to mention later on.

There were several motives which each had their share in bringing about the course of action upon which Lord Plunket entered and to which he resolutely adhered. There was, first and chiefest, his determination to do a work which he believed that his Master gave him to do. There was, also, the fulness of his

sympathy for any who had come out from the errors of the Church of Rome—a sympathy which his experiences as a young man in West Connaught had done much to foster. Next, there was his high estimation of the office of a bishop. He felt most keenly the fact that he was not merely the president of a diocese, but also *a bishop of the whole Church of God.* Added to these were two motives on a slightly lower level, which both had considerable influence upon him. The first of these was the *romance* of the thing. His was the romantic disposition of a true Irishman. What could more strongly appeal to this side of his character than the thought of a few poverty-stricken congregations crying to him for help from the purlieus of the ancient cities, from the scattered dwellings of the mountain ranges, of that land of old and often-sung romance—Spain ?

Then there was, lastly, his patriotism. It has already been seen how strongly this influenced his every action. It strengthened his hands with the thought that some attempt was being made, on the part at least of a section of the Church of England to bully and control the free action of the Irish Church.

When these various motives are considered it will be easier, even for those who most strongly disagree with his policy, to understand and appreciate the work done for the Reformed Church in Spain by the late Archbishop of Dublin.

The first occasion on which Lord Plunket's interest in Spain was awakened was in the winter of 1861, when he was calling upon Mr. Dallas in London, and there was made acquainted with the facts concerning the

imprisonment of Matamores, and the memorial which was being got up upon the subject.

It is more than possible that he had also had his feelings aroused by Borrow's fascinating book, "The Bible in Spain," which was published in 1842. He would there have learnt that in 1835 the less cultured inhabitant of Spain and Portugal was ignorant of the Scripture "even by name," that casual acquaintances of the writer when travelling in those countries "expressed great abhorrence of the papal system, which had so long spread a darkness like that of death over their unfortunate country," and that there were numbers of persons anxious to seize upon any opportunity of obtaining the free knowledge of the Gospel and of walking in the light.

Such matters would have been of the greatest interest to Lord Plunket and have secured his entire sympathy. But, however this may have been, it was not until long afterwards that the question of assisting those who had already left the Roman Church in Spain became a practical matter with him. How this arose, and with what result, it may be left to Dr. Noyes, chaplain to the British Embassy at Paris and a hearty coadjutor with Lord Plunket in all this part of his work, to tell. He writes:

"The mind of the Archbishop was much occupied with the question of Church reform in Spain and Portugal for the last eighteen years of his life. Although the contrary was often affirmed, the subject was thrust upon rather than sought by him in the first instance. Possessed by no insular spirit, or narrow view of the Catholic Church, he had long been interested in the religious questions of the world, and especially in

those struggles after reform in the lapsed Churches of Christendom, which have been so notable a feature of the past thirty years.

"It was a large-minded utterance of his on one occasion which led a clergyman in the diocese of Dublin, who had been trying to stir up interest in the Spanish and Portuguese reformers, to write to his grace (then Bishop of Meath) sending some information and asking for help and sympathy. The following is the reply, and is the first letter which Lord Plunket wrote on the subject:

"BRESLIN'S HOTEL, BRAY,
"*September* 5, 1879.

"DEAR MR. ——,

"I have been away from home holding confirmations for the last three weeks, and yours of the 27th has only just reached me here, where I am spending a few days with Lady Plunket. I will give the most careful consideration to the documents which you have forwarded. They disclose a most interesting state of things in Spain and Portugal, but I need not say that the request which they convey is one involving questions of no little difficulty. However, you may be sure that my sympathies are with those who make the request, and if the way should not ultimately be found, it will not be the fault of the will.

"Yours very sincerely,
"PLUNKET MEATH."

"The 'request' referred to in this letter was one for the transmission of the Episcopate, a good number of the reformers in both countries being earnestly desirous for this form of Church government, and if possible for communion with the Anglican Church.

"This first letter of the Archbishop shows how unfair was the

statement, industriously propagated in some quarters, that the movement 'originated' with the Archbishop of Dublin.

"Other facts may also be mentioned—*e.g.*, a society had been in existence already for some ten years to procure aid for those who were struggling for a purer form of faith, and, although feebly supported, had accomplished much.

"Without any disparagement of a good deal of quiet and even secret work which had been previously done, it may be said that modern effort for Church reform in Spain dates from the year 1868, when a revolution took place under the leadership of General Prim, and a measure of religious liberty was granted to the Spanish people. At this time a number of reformers were in exile on the Rock of Gibraltar, waiting for the dawn of a better day. The Anglo-Continental Society, anxious to foster such a movement, had sent the Rev. Antonio Vallespinosa, who had received some education in England, and ordination by the Bishop of Gibraltar in Frant Church, near Tunbridge Wells, October 25, 1865, to conduct services in Spanish for the refugees. Among the exiles was one who was destined to become the first bishop of the Reformed Church, the Rev. Juan B. Cabrera, an ex-priest of the Church of Rome. From Gibraltar Señor Cabrera, who was engaged in a translation of Bishop Harold Browne's book on the 'Thirty-nine Articles,' wrote a letter which contains the following remarks bearing upon reform: 'I am here alone, unprotected by any society and left to my own resources. My faith is firm, and I hope that, if it be God's will that the doors of Spain be soon opened to the Gospel, I may be a useful servant of Christ to make known among my countrymen the false doctrines of Rome and the truth of the law of grace in its purity. Meantime I carry on some correspondence with Spanish priests, which I think may bring forth good fruit. . . . It is my opinion that our exertions ought to be specially directed to enlightening the clergy, for if they are turned to the Lord they will be the instruments for enlightening the masses. . . . For this reason I have the greatest pleasure in being engaged on the present translation.'

"The year 1868 at length came, and the little band of exiles 'went everywhere preaching the word.' The first hint of a Reformed National Church is found in a programme dated June 29, 1869, in which we find the following clauses:

"'1. This Church holds, believes, and confesses the Apostles' Creed, the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, and that of St. Athanasius, with all the doctrines contained in the Sacred Scriptures and in the first four General Councils of the Church.

"'2. This Church, holding the faith which is common to all true Christian Churches, shall have its own discipline, which may be altered according to the conditions of time and place.'

"There is reason to believe that the first article was due in large measure to the influence of Señor Cabrera, who had but a little before been engaged in the translation of Bishop Cosin's 'Religion—Discipline and Rites of the English Church,' which commences with a similar declaration. The document goes on to appoint, 'for the present,' a Presbyterian form of discipline, this being only natural when aid was chiefly given by Presbyterian agencies. This fact gave rise to a good deal of controversy later on, when some were found to say that Bishop Cabrera was more a Presbyterian than a Churchman. How unfair, not to say ungenerous, this charge was is pointed out by Lord Plunket in a pamphlet entitled 'Señor Cabrera and the Reformed Spanish Church,' published in 1894."

This pamphlet was written by the Archbishop with a double object. In the first place, his sense of truth and justice had been outraged by an attack made upon Señor Cabrera by some members of the Presbyterian body, in which they asserted that he, after having been up to a certain point a Presbyterian, was tempted at last by merely monetary considerations to abandon his principles, and become, professedly at least, an Episcopalian. The reply to such accusations was best found in the fact that Señor Cabrera was described, at the

beginning of his career, even by those who no longer befriended him, as a man "who had sacrificed his all of this world's advantages for the sake of the Gospel—a man of God, filled with consuming zeal for the honour of God and the inbringing of souls to Christ in his native Spain."

In Lord Plunket's opinion, he was a man who had never, from the date of his leaving the Church at Rome been either a Presbyterian or an Episcopalian of any strict type, but had been one who at no time deemed either system an essential, but regarded both as subsidiary to the higher aims he had set before himself, and to whose mind questions of Church government and ritual, though important in their proper place, were subordinate to that one greater longing with which his whole heart and soul were filled—the preaching of Christ and the unifying of a purely Spanish Church.

Señor Cabrera's earliest ideal had been reformation on Episcopal lines. But at first none would help him except the Presbyterian Church. Afterwards the possibility arose of adhesion to a distinctly Episcopalian movement. But meantime the Presbyterians had been obliged to curtail the help they had afforded him. *Therefore*, said they, he embraced Episcopacy. A clear case of the ancient fallacy, "*Post hoc ergo propter hoc.*"

Lord Plunket's second object was to convince members of the Church of Ireland that Señor Cabrera was not an unfit person to be bishop of the Reformed Church of Spain, some Churchmen (both Irish and English) having, with doubtful taste, taken hold of the Presbyterian weapon of attack and used it against Cabrera for their own ends.

Dr. Noyes continues :

"A second manifesto laying down a basis of union and reform was issued at Madrid in 1871. As a basis of reform the following propositions were accepted :

"1. Purity of doctrine as it is in the New Testament, excluding all additions made by Councils, Bulls, Decretals, and Encyclics.

"2. Separation and independence of Church and State.

"3. Election of Church officers by universal suffrages.

"4. Abolition of the Latin tongue in public worship, of the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, and of payment for the ministration of the sacraments and church services.

"5. Self-government of the Church by means of synods.

"A committee of seven priests was formed to carry out this programme, and an organ entitled *La Eglesia Española* was issued. These efforts, however, were merely tentative, noble aspirations after reform and Christian liberty. As time went on they were found to be more or less impracticable, as the reformers were a mixed body — some Episcopalian, some Presbyterian, some Wesleyan, and so forth. At length the Episcopalian body took action for themselves, and framed a petition to the Lambeth Conference of 1878 to consecrate a bishop for them, who should be nominated by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. It was soon after this that the interest of Lord Plunket was engaged on their behalf; and what had passed showed clearly the need of a wise and statesmanlike prelate to guide them in their efforts.

"Questions concerning the organisation of the Spanish and Portuguese Reformed Church were early pressed upon Lord Plunket. Bishop Riley had been consecrated by the American Church, and—commissioned by the Archbishop of Canterbury —was intending shortly to visit Spain and Portugal.

"The petition to the Lambeth Conference for the consecration of a bishop for the Reformed Church in Spain had been passed on to the Irish bishops for consideration by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tait), and Bishop Riley proposed a visit

to Ireland at the time when the bishops met, ready to take instructions from them. Two letters of Lord Plunket's at this time will be interesting.

"NATIONAL CLUB, 1 WHITEHALL GARDENS, S.W.,
"*Nov.* 20, 1879.

"MY DEAR N——,

"I think it would be important that while Bishop Riley is in Dublin there should be such a meeting as Mr. Tugwell proposes. Whatever attitude the bishops may think it right to take with reference to the matter about to come before them on Thursday, it is the duty of Irish Churchmen to help on the good work in whatever way they can. If the bishops see their way to making a conditional promise of official help, as I hope they may, it will be only natural to supplement that promise by a readiness to co-operate in other ways; and even should they hesitate in the former respect, yet the confidence and goodwill shown by this infant Church in seeking our episcopal intervention ought to enlist our sympathies and make us anxious to show that so far as we can help it we *will*. I therefore think that Bishop Riley and Mr. Tugwell should be welcomed, and their cause supported, by Irish Churchmen. . . . The first thing you ought to do is to call upon the Archbishop of Dublin and ask him to take the chair.* The welfare of this struggling Church is something which Irish Churchmen *generally* should be asked to further according to their ability. Any meeting in connection with it should be free from anything of a sectional character—in fact, if it were to

* Archbishop Trench did preside at this meeting.

partake of such a character, I should not wish to identify myself with it. Accordingly, if the meeting is to be held in Dublin, it ought to be presided over by the Archbishop of Dublin; and he is so ready to support every good cause, that I am sure you have only to ask him in order to obtain his consent. If his Grace will preside, I will gladly attend and speak. Perhaps the Provost of T.C.D. would also consent to take part. He and his wife take a large and intelligent interest in Continental Church work. . . .

"Very sincerely yours,

"PLUNKET MEATH."

"12 EARLSFORT TERRACE, DUBLIN,
"*Nov.* 21, 1879.

"DEAR MR. M——,

"I should be glad to have your opinion on a matter that will come before the Irish bishops for their consideration on Thursday next. The enclosed copy of a letter which I have written to the Irish Primate will explain so fully the position of affairs that I need not do more than ask you kindly to read it. . . . Since I wrote this letter I have seen Bishop Riley, and was greatly reassured, first, by finding in him a man so altogether fitted for the responsible office to which, in God's providence, he has been set apart, and also because I find that he quite takes the view of the case which I have ventured to set forth in the enclosed. In confidence, I may say that one reason among others why the Spanish Church would not like to receive her new orders from Mexico, or to be put under the fostering care of that Church, is a reluctance

to crave such help from what they regard as merely a daughter colony of the old country. The Irish Church, whose long independence in primitive times from Rome resembles very much that of the Mozarabic Church, does not present to them the same difficulty. . . . On Thursday Bishop Riley will have an interview with the Irish bishops, and I will write and let you know the result. In the meantime I should be glad to have a few lines from you, telling me how the matter presents itself to your mind.

"I ought perhaps to say that the tone of the reformation movement in Spain, while strongly in the direction of Episcopal orders and government, is decidedly what may be called Evangelical in its character, and there is an almost certain prospect of some Presbyterian and Wesleyan agencies becoming absorbed in the new Church if it retains that character. It may be well, therefore, that within the comprehensive limits of our Anglican Communion there is a Church like the Irish Church, which may have some attractions for them, if not for others, in this respect.

"Yours very sincerely,

"PLUNKET MEATH."

The letter to the Irish bishops, to which reference is made above, shows that the matter at this time stood thus:

(*a*) The Pan-Anglican Synod had appointed a standing committee to deal with the question, and had recommended the employment of the future Bishop of the Reformed Church in Mexico.

(*b*) Lord Plunket had written to ask the Archbishop

of Canterbury whether, before the Irish bishops took any action, it might not be desirable that the matter should come before this standing committee; and, if so, how was this to be done?

To this Archbishop Tait had replied that the best plan would be for a communication to be sent to each member of the committee desiring them to send him their replies, on receipt of which he would send a formal letter either to Lord Plunket or to the Primate of Ireland. At the same time he thought the objection which was felt in Spain to the proposal of the Pan-Anglican Synod (that when a bishop had been consecrated by the American Church for Mexico, he might visit and assist the Reformed Church in Spain and Portugal) was possibly unreasonable.

At the end of Lord Plunket's letter he gives concise reasons for wishing that the Irish Church should assist in the matter, and a list of conditions which he considered essential before such a step could be taken. He said:

"For my own part, I should, I confess, be glad if the result of our inquiries were such as to encourage us to comply with the request. . . . Though we might not have thought it right to court a grave responsibility by volunteering to offer that Church (Reformed Church in Spain) our help, yet, when invited, as we have been, to extend a sisterly hand in a time of difficulty, I should be sorry if we could not see our way to consent. The English Church, because of its State connection, cannot undertake the duty. The Scottish Church has already manifested its sympathy with the newly-formed

Gallican Church of France. The American Church has given its aid to the Reformed Church of Mexico. It would seem, therefore, not unreasonable that the Irish Church—the principal remaining Church of the Anglican Communion—should be ready to show a like interest in the Reformed Church of Spain and Portugal.

* * * * *

"But, however much I might desire such a result, there are certain conditions which would seem to me essential if we are to take such a step.

"(*a*) In the first place, we should be satisfied as to the genuine character of the movement in question.

"(*b*) The application for our intervention should come to us, not merely in a memorial signed by individual members (however influential) of the Reformed Church, but from some representative body authorised as such to speak on its behalf.

"(*c*) The application should have the full sanction of Bishop Riley, to whom has been delegated by the Pan-Anglican Conference the duty of assisting and counselling the infant Church in its present difficulties.

"(*d*) Any response on our parts to such an invitation should receive the approval of the Commission appointed as a standing committee by the Pan-Anglican Conference for dealing with such cases.

"(*e*) Any bishop who might be consecrated through the action of our Church should have been previously *elected* by the Reformed Church itself.

"(*f*) Before taking any final action the Irish House of Bishops ought to communicate its intentions to the General Synod of our own Church."

From the above extracts it is clear that in the autumn of 1879, within a short time of his having the matter brought seriously before him, Lord Plunket made up his mind that it would be a good thing, if possible, to help these Spanish congregations of reformers, and, having so determined, set about the work with his usual energy and in a thoroughly careful and statesmanlike manner.

Now to return to Dr. Noyes. He continues:

"I have stated above that the interest of the Archbishop was enlisted in the movement at the end of the year 1879. Early in the year 1880 a visit was paid to London for the purpose of examining the affairs of the society which was engaged in collecting funds to aid the reformers. The founder of this society was the late Rev. L. S. Tugwell, who had been in Spain at the time of the revolution in 1868, and had recognised that a door had at length been opened in this country for the spread of the Gospel. Much good work had been done, a church (San Basilio) had been purchased in Seville, and evangelists and teachers employed. The agents employed were chiefly Spaniards, but the movement had at this time more the character of a mission. It was, be it remarked, a Church mission, and the first services held consisted of prayers translated into Spanish from the English Prayer-book.

"Lord Plunket found, however, that the society was seriously embarrassed by a large debt of some £3000, arising chiefly from the fact that Mr. Tugwell had undertaken work in the hope of a support in England which had not been sufficiently given. Many would have felt that such a condition of things was almost hopeless, but this was not the way in which the Archbishop regarded it. He took up the matter with that earnestness and hopefulness which so marked his character, and said, 'Now, the first thing we have to do is to get rid of this debt.' Collectors of money will realise what a great task was undertaken in appealing for the payment of such a debt,

but Lord Plunket was not to be refused. The Christian public felt that, one so disinterested and self-sacrificing having taken up the reins, there was a prospect of success; and those who sent in their gifts were not disappointed. Before many months were passed the debt was wiped off and there was a balance on the right side at the bank. A periodical was issued,* fresh and important names were added to the committee, and the society, now called the 'Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society,' began to take its place as a small yet recognised Church society.

"Now came another important question. Lord Plunket felt that, if he were to preach and speak on behalf of these reformers in Spain and Portugal, he must depend not only upon hearsay or published reports. All through his connection with this movement he was most anxious to possess the very facts of the case. If the movement was small or defective in some ways, he desired to know it. If there were failures, he would not hide them; if there had been exaggerations, he would wish to correct them—he would tolerate no deviation from the true facts of the case. He would be vexed if he found the least over or under statement in figures which had been supplied for his use, and he verified every one; no detail was left without examination.

"At length the desired opportunity came. Lord Plunket went with his family to Pau for the winter of 1880–81, and from thence paid his first visit to Spain."

As the Archbishop himself wrote an account of this visit, some extracts may be given here from his own words:

"I set forth on my journey with, I confess, a full heart. Even apart from the special object which I had

* *Light and Truth*, with a frontispiece designed by the Hon. Miss Plunket, sister of the Archbishop. Lord Plunket wrote the introductory article, and was a frequent contributor.

in view, the prospect of a visit to old Spain was, under any circumstances, enough to awaken into life many thoughts. That man must have a dull nature who can at any time stand for the first time on the shore of Biarritz and look forth on the noble range of Spanish frontier mountains which bound the southern curve of that bay without an instinctive longing to penetrate beyond those fastnesses, and to find himself in the ancient land that lies at the farther side—that land so great in its historic memories—so great in its deeds of glory—so great, if I may say it, even in its deeds of shame. But I had something more in view than this. On the evening before my start I had wandered down to that shore, and as I watched those mountains gradually purpled over with the mysterious haze of dusk, my thoughts were busy with the present and the future rather than the past. I was asking myself, What has God in store for this people that dwell beyond? The great Atlantic waves were rolling in at my feet, red with the sunset rays—each wave coming onward majestically without one ripple or fleck on its surface, until suddenly broken into sheets of brilliant foam. It was like the outburst of some long pent-up reserve of passionate strength. Was it to be so with this nation as regarded its spiritual life? Were its inner yearnings about to break loose and find vent? Ultramontanes could no longer imprison those cravings within artificial limits. How, then, were they to find escape? Was it to be in the even more cruel bondage of communism and unbelief? Or might we not hope for it in the glorious liberty wherewith Christ makes men and nations free? And yet how vast such a hope,

and how little the means at man's disposal. How wide and dense the expanse of gross darkness by which the land was overspread, and how few and feeble the little centres of light that were here and there scarcely flickering amidst the gloom. As I thought thereon, it was too hard for me—until I remembered that, THOUGH MAN IS INDEED LITTLE, GOD IS OF A TRUTH GREAT.

"Such were the thoughts that followed me as I returned home that evening, and such, too, were the thoughts that, as I have already said, made my heart full the next day as I started on my southward way.

"In my last letter I gave an account of the Sunday which I spent in Madrid, and of the visit which I paid to Señor Cabrera's congregation. During the few following days which intervened before my start for Seville I endeavoured to obtain what further information I could respecting the work of reform in this city. This I did by making inquiries, not merely from those who might be expected to take a special interest in the Episcopal movement, but from others as well. Before however, I part company with Señor Cabrera's little flock, I have a few further incidents to recount.

"Upon the evening of Monday I was invited to Cabrera's house to meet some members of the *junta* (or select vestry) which acts on behalf of his congregation, and who had expressed a desire to convey to me in person their thanks for my visit. There were six of these gathered together to meet me—the schoolmaster, an architect (employed often in the King's palace), a paymaster in some public department, a well-to-do shopkeeper, a house decorator, and a tailor. This enumeration will convey an idea of the class of persons

who form the chief representatives of this little Church in Madrid—not men rich in this world's wealth or high in earthly rank, but respectable, well-conditioned members of society, whose single-minded motives have stood many a severe test, are above suspicion. In my conversation with them I had an opportunity of ascertaining how far the desire for Episcopal supervision and for a liturgical form of worship was genuine, and my mind was quite satisfied before we parted that both they and the congregation which they represented were not acting under any artificial pressure. They spoke quite naturally as men of independence; and it was clear that my visit, and the message which I had conveyed the evening before, had greatly cheered and encouraged them. Before we parted, Señor Cabrera offered up a fervent prayer on behalf of the work and of ourselves; and as I saw all these men kneeling around their bishop-elect, while he invoked a blessing from on high upon the members of his flock, I felt that I was beholding an omen of greater things yet to come.

"But I have also to tell of my visit to Señor Cabrera's schools. They are held in a room above that in which the congregation meets, and when I entered I found Señor Cabrera's wife and daughter engaged in the work of teaching. The children were a very intelligent, happy, Irish-looking set of scholars. I asked them to sing me a hymn, and they sang me one about the preciousness of the Bible. I spoke to them through Cabrera of the unspeakable comfort that book might yet be to them in the hour of trouble, proving itself indeed a

"'Word of mercy, giving
Succour to the living;
Word of life, supplying
Comfort to the dying.'

"I told them of a little child whom I had watched in a Dublin mission school, singing with a strange fervour that sweet hymn, 'Safe in the arms of Jesus.' I did not understand her earnestness at the time, but I afterwards learned that but a few days before she had cheered a dying brother in his last struggle by singing that hymn at his deathbed. When I told them this, their dark Spanish eyes brightened and they said, '*We* can sing that hymn too.' And they sang it—and sang it well. It is one of a number of hymns translated by Cabrera, which, together with other very beautiful compositions of his own, are now largely used throughout the Protestant congregations of Spain.

"The boys also sang very well, and much pleased me by their cheerful and trustful manner. The teachers had evidently won their hearts, an important step towards reaching their minds. I examined the school books, and found the number on the roll in the two schools to be 34 and 36 respectively. Upon this occasion there were present exactly 21 in each. I ought to add that a payment is required from all who attend; and when we remember that the State schools and the distinctly Roman Catholic schools are free, we have, I think, an important token of the reality of the work in this respect. So much as regards the congregation and schools that at present represent in Madrid the Reformed Episcopal Church, for which my visit was specially intended. It would, however, be a great

mistake to suppose that they supply the only token of reformation life to be found in that city. Some of my readers will perhaps be surprised at the manifold forms in which that life has been developed, when I state that, besides the congregation that has Señor Cabrera for its pastor and bishop-elect, there are five others that have been gathered together, through the efforts or under the auspices of the United Presbyterians of Scotland, the German Lutherans, the American Baptists, the Irish Presbyterians, and the Plymouth Brethren respectively. No one of these is so large or so important as that to which Cabrera ministers, but some are nearly so; and while we cannot help regretting that they have not shaped themselves after the primitive model, and must lament the appearance of disunion which these many varieties of Protestantism present to those who are without, we should be indeed narrow-minded were we to regard these searchings, in one form or another, after a purer faith than that of Rome with anything short of genuine sympathy and goodwill. For my own part, knowing as I do that amid many diversities and, as I must believe, many serious irregularities and disadvantages, Christ is nevertheless preached, I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice. But gladly would I welcome a drawing together of these scattered forces to some one centre of unity upon that basis of Episcopal and liturgical order which not only commends itself to me as most agreeable to scriptural principles and apostolic practice, but which I verily believe is the only foundation on which anything like a national Spanish Reformed Church can be ultimately built up. Whether such an

end can be looked forward to with anything like hope I dare not say. I should not in any case deem it either wise or right to try and prematurely compass such a result by importunate arts of proselytism; but should it come about of its own accord, I have no hesitation in saying that I should hail it with a thankful heart.

"One thought suggests itself to me when speaking of the subsidiary aids whereby the cause of God's truth may be furthered in the Peninsula. I refer to the want of a suitable place of worship for Señor Cabrera's congregation.

"The outward form or inward fittings of God's house are, I admit, of little moment as compared with the character of the living Church that gathers together for worship within. And, at a time when funds are so sorely needed for the support of pastors and teachers, it would be a grievous mistake to apply money to any unnecessary building purposes. But Señor Cabrera's church is not merely unsightly and inconvenient, it is almost in a state of ruin, and even such as it is, it is subject to a rent of £160 per annum. Moreover, the central place of worship of the Reformed Episcopal Church of Spain ought to be such as at least not to repel the upper classes from venturing within its doors. The Spanish people are proud, and jealous in guarding the decorum which attaches to their position, whatever it may be. Is it, then, wonderful that men of good position should know so little about that dilapidated room in an obscure street wherein Cabrera's congregation now meets? And if they should happen to know of it, what is there to

tempt them to enter it? Rather is there not much to deter them from doing so? If therefore it be desirable that this reformed communion should embrace all classes, if the souls of the rich be precious in its sight as well as those of the poor, then its central church should occupy a prominent position, and both in its outward form and inward arrangement should be marked by a chaste beauty befitting the solemn services to be held within its walls. Yes, the Spanish reformers should have in Madrid a church such as the Vaudois reformers have in Turin—a building free from the meretricious adjuncts of superstition and wanton display, but standing forth in its simple dignity before the eyes of all who throng the crowded thoroughfare, an ever-present witness to a God who heareth prayer, and inviting every thoughtful inquirer and every curious passer-by to enter within its open doors and listen to that word wherein that God has revealed Himself to man."

From the above extracts it can be clearly seen what pains Lord Plunket took to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of the Spanish Reformed Church in Madrid. There is also evidence of the romantic feelings which filled his heart, and no doubt increased his enthusiasm for the cause.

But besides these matters, there is a distinct refutation of the accusation often recklessly brought against him, that he went to cause schism in the Roman Church in Spain. It was no such thing. The congregations had already come out of their own accord, and he distinctly expresses his disapproval of any "importunate arts of proselytism."

After leaving Madrid, the Bishop visited Seville, and so passed on to Lisbon, where he made the same careful inspection of the Reformed Church in Portugal.

He then returned to Madrid, where he spent some further time with Señor Cabrera and his flock, before returning to Pau.

It was when at Seville (where, owing to vast inundations, his inspection was seriously curtailed) that he heard from Señor Cabrera's own mouth some interesting details of his early experiences as an evangelist.

"On my way home Señor Cabrera described to me some of his first evangelistic experiences in Seville. When Queen Isabella had to flee from Spain, and a constitutional republic was proclaimed, Señors Cabrera and Carasco and other Spanish reformers were at Gibraltar—a town which had been to them a city of refuge in the time of danger, very much as Geneva was to our reformers in the time of Queen Mary. Hearing of Queen Isabella's flight, they went to General Prim, the President of the new republic, and asked him whether it would be safe and right for them to return from exile and preach the Gospel to their fellow-countrymen. His answer was, 'Take your Bibles under your arms, and preach when and where you like.' Accordingly, they set forth on their mission. Señor Cabrera was at that time in receipt of some £300 per annum as a teacher of languages in Gibraltar. But in pursuance of a grander aim, he threw this source of income up. Once before, when leaving the Church of Rome, he had abandoned his means of

livelihood and prospects of preferment for conscience sake, and now he was ready to do the same again. When he reached Seville, and looked around on the multitudes that thronged the streets, many perplexing thoughts disturbed his mind. He had a message to declare to his fellow-countrymen. Woe was to him if he did not declare it. But how was he to begin? At this juncture God made wide before him unexpectedly an 'open door.' Let such of us as may ever have felt the pressure of a similar responsibility take courage from his example. By chance he made his way into a *café*, which he pointed out to me as we passed through the streets. He found in it a number of men in earnest converse around one of the tables. They were discussing the printed programme of the new constitution. It was the desire of General Prim that the principles upon which the new republic was to be based should be explained to the people by competent lecturers, and the men around the *café* table were eagerly discussing these principles, and agreeing amongst themselves to give addresses severally on some leading points. Señor Cabrera, having entered into conversation with them, said at last, 'There is one subject with which I am ready, should you approve of it, to deal—the question, I mean, of religious liberty.' They replied that they did not know him, but as he seemed to be competent for the task, they would allot to him this department of their work. Accordingly, he gave notice before long of his proposed lectures, and at first a very few listeners came to hear what he had to say. By degrees, however, the numbers increased, and repeated 'Bravos' greeted the delivery of his

sentiments. At last, when he felt that he had the confidence of his hearers, he made bold one day to say to them: 'Fellow-countrymen, I have up till now spoken to you about religious liberty in its political aspect; the time has come when I must speak to you about that liberty wherewith Christ makes free.' And thenceforward he preached to them Christ and Him crucified. Thus does God make a way for those who desire to do His will."

CHAPTER XV

THE SPANISH QUESTION—(CONTINUED)

IN the foregoing chapter an attempt has been made to explain the history of the movement in Spain towards obtaining a Reformed Church, and the action which Lord Plunket took in the early stages of the matter. From 1879 until the time of his death his interest and work for the Reformed Church in Spain never flagged, and during all those years he bore the chief brunt of the controversy which raged round the subject.

It is impossible, within the limits of this single volume, to continue any detailed account of the whole story. All that can be done is to select the most interesting points and describe Lord Plunket's share in the undertaking.

Very early in the day (in 1880 or 1881) the liturgy of the Spanish Reformed Church was translated into English, with an introduction written by Lord Plunket.

As may easily be conceived, this liturgy was keenly examined and discussed in England, Ireland, and America. Many were loud in its praise, many raised serious objections. The chief causes of complaint were certain omissions, as, for instance, the recitation of the Athanasian Creed in public worship, and the

phrase in the Baptismal Service, "seeing that this child is regenerate."

Lord Plunket received innumerable letters at this time, some full of kindly encouragement, but many others full of censure, the writers, without being aware of all the facts, holding him responsible for the omissions.

The liturgy referred to here was the first one before the revision which subsequently took place. Lord Plunket felt many of the objections most keenly, but he knew, better than most of his correspondents, how difficult it is to arrange such things with those who have revolted from the "unlawful terms of communion" imposed by the Church of Rome.

Another grievance arose towards the beginning of the controversy. Señor Cabrera had been styled "Bishop-elect of Madrid." This was considered an encroachment upon the rights of the Roman Church in Spain, and, although a parallel can readily be found in the case of titles adopted by the Roman Catholics in England, yet on a question of this kind it was thought well to give way. Lord Plunket, in a letter to his close friend, Canon Meyrick, the founder of the Anglo-Continental Society, says:

"12 EARLSFORT TERRACE, DUBLIN,
"*Dec.* 2, 1882.

"MY DEAR MEYRICK,

* * * * *

"Cabrera has quite resolved (at my suggestion, before the receipt of your letter) to drop the title of Bishop of Madrid, and to adopt that of Bishop-elect of

the Reformed Church in Spain. He intends to call another Synod of his Church, and to submit himself for re-election. . . .

"Yours very sincerely,

"PLUNKET MEATH."

It was perhaps to be foreseen that the clergy of the diocese of Meath would look with some jealousy upon the interest which their Bishop took in these foreign Churches. It was not long before this feeling took shape. Dr. Noyes says:

"There were some at home who thought that Lord Plunket was giving too much time and attention to a foreign Church work, to the neglect of the duties of the diocese. A dignitary of the diocese of Meath, who has since passed away, wrote to the Bishop on the subject. The reply, which follows, is a good illustration of the 'superb temper' which characterised Lord Plunket when the provocation was not a little trying. The letter which called it forth has probably been destroyed, but the reply is as follows:

"'MAPLE'S HOTEL,
"'*Oct.* 18, 1883.

"'MY DEAR ——

"'I hasten to assure you that your letter has *not* made me angry with you. It is the part of a friend to speak what he believes to be truth to a friend at any cost, and we have been too long on terms of affection one with another to feel aggrieved by frank and kindly speaking. All I would ask is that you will receive what I have to say in a similar spirit.

"'You speak of two things. First, the *fact* of my repeated absences from my diocese; secondly, a prevalent *idea* that I am more interested in the affairs of

certain foreign Churches than I am in those of my own. I would wish to draw a distinction between this *fact* and this *idea*. The "fact" of my repeated absences is, alas! too true, and there is no one who deplores it more than myself. It is, as you know, due to one cause—a cause which intensifies its bitterness: the precarious state of my wife's health. Assuming that you do not include the occasions when I have attended a congress, or a Lambeth meeting, or have preached a University sermon, or have undertaken some similar duty which all would admit to have been obligatory upon me in the interests of my own Church, I do not remember ever having left my diocese for any cause other than the one already specified save once—namely, those few weeks which I spent last winter with Señor Cabrera advocating the cause of his Church in some of the other dioceses of Ireland. This I did with the profound conviction that the honour of our own Church in the sight of God and man was then at stake.

* * * * *

"'On every other occasion during the seven years of my episcopate that I have left my diocese, it has been because of my wife's health. . . .

"'My absence has always increased my correspondence, which is the hardest part of my work. It has also entailed an amount of travelling (ranging from five to eight thousand miles in each winter) which has been very trying to my own health. It has compelled me again and again to leave my wife behind me on the Continent (with more than a thousand miles between us) in a most critical state of weakness and depression.

It has, in fact, been anything but holiday work to me. My holiday—oh, how welcome a one!—would have been to have been allowed to stay in my own home.

"'While, however, I say all this, the fact remains that there *have* been repeated absences, injurious of necessity to the interests of the diocese, and for this cause, far more than for any of those I have mentioned, deeply deplored by myself. Again and again have I been on the point of resigning my office. To do so would give me the rest for which the natural man craves. It would lift off a load of almost constant anxiety. . . . It would allow me to return to my own dear home at Old Connaught. It would involve me in no financial difficulty. Every selfish motive would prompt me to do so. But, after consulting friends, and debating the matter in my own mind, *conscience* has bid me remain. Whether I shall long continue of the same mind I know not. But for the present I must obey that voice.'"

[The next few pages of this letter are taken up with a refutation of the suggestion that he had lost interest in his diocese. In the simplest language he shows that in each department of the work an improvement was visible, and he was not ashamed to compare the state of his diocese with what it was before he came to it.]

"'Only one word more. If it be thought that, because of the deep interest which I feel in the work of reform in other Churches, my interest in my own Church is likely to falter, all I can say is that such a principle would contradict every experience of the past. No Church has ever shown life or prospered that

has lacked the outgoing spirit of missionary zeal, and I can truly say that if any one motive more than another urges me to work, as, God helping me, I shall continue to do, on behalf of such a cause as that of Spanish reform, it is the interest which I feel in the honour of my own Church, and the desire that by helping others she may bring back into her bosom an abundant blessing in return.

"'Pray forgive the length into which I have been betrayed, and take what I have said in the same affectionate spirit which prompts my words.

"'Yours as ever affectionately,

"'PLUNKET MEATH.'"

The Synod of the Reformed Church in Spain had appointed a provisional council of bishops to advise and assist them. Of this body Lord Plunket was one.

The need of episcopal functions in Spain and Portugal was becoming annually more pressing. There were candidates for the ministry awaiting ordination, and many, both young and old, hoping for confirmation. As one of the above-mentioned council, Lord Plunket felt that he was called upon to give his services, and at the request of these Churches he paid his second visit in April 1884.

At the annual meeting of the Spanish and Portuguese Society, held in London soon after his return, he gave the following account of this visit:

"Let me very briefly refer to the results of my second visit to Spain and Portugal, and to the impressions left by that visit upon my mind. When there I admitted

one candidate to the diaconate and three to the priesthood. I also confirmed about one hundred members of these Churches, and consecrated a new place of worship. I was able during the short time at my disposal to visit only six out of the fifteen congregations to be found in Spain and Portugal. I had only three weeks at my disposal, and you will form some idea of the distance over which I travelled when I tell you that I had to spend six nights and seven days of that interval in the train. During my visit I saw at least 1300 members in these six congregations—that is to say, an average of over 200 in each. In four of these congregations the Holy Communion was administered, and at the holy table there was an average attendance of fifty—a far larger proportion than we should see in our own churches at home. In each case I saw manifested great earnestness and devotion, and a desire to conduct everything in their poor places of worship with decency and order. I heard numberless instances of great personal self-sacrifice and spirituality of mind among those who had joined this reformed communion. I found, moreover, that a spirit of unity was manifesting itself among these congregations, scattered though they be throughout the Peninsula.

* * * * *

"I found also an increased feeling of missionary responsibility. I found that these churches were beginning to regard themselves as having a duty to shine as lights in a dark place. And lastly, I found that openings for the exercise of this evangelistic zeal were presenting themselves on every hand, and that appeals from anxious inquirers were being made, pray-

ing that the same Gospel might be preached to them which had brought about such blessed results elsewhere."

The next few years were not marked by any specially important incident, but during this time Lord Plunket worked hard to raise money for the wiping out of the old debt. This was finally accomplished, and he found himself free to put out his first appeal for new church buildings in Madrid. This appeal appeared in *Light and Truth* for January 1888.

Very few Church dignitaries would have been willing to beg for funds with such frequency and pertinacity. Many of Lord Plunket's friends were distressed at what they considered "so demeaning an occupation." But it was just like him. He never spared himself. He knew well enough that he was likely to obtain far more money for the work by his own personal pleading, and he gave it, simply and humbly, with no thought of his rank or fear of lowering his position.

A little incident occurred in connection with this side of the Archbishop's work which is worth recording:

One of his appeals for help for Spain was sent to a clergyman near Leicester who was in charge of a large colliery district where there was no church. This clergyman in response wrote to the Archbishop saying that he thought the heathen of England required help more than the reformers of Spain, at the same time describing the destitute condition of his parish and the means he was taking to reach the ignorant inhabitants. These means he honestly described as including "vestments" and other specialities of the ritualistic party.

After a short delay he received from Lord Plunket a most kind letter enclosing a cheque in aid of his work. And yet some have been found to describe the Archbishop as "narrow"!

Señor Cabrera had shown him a splendid site for a church when he had paid his first visit to Spain seven years before. But nothing had yet been done, and Lord Plunket felt that the cause of the Reformed Church in that country would benefit enormously by the possession of a dignified place of worship.

But the whole question of the Spanish Church was about to be revived in a most acute form. The year 1888 saw the bishops of the Anglican Communion assembled for one of the great Lambeth Conferences.

It will now be well to quote the words of Dr. Noyes:

"In view of the Conference, Lord Plunket had prepared certain documents, which, together with a translation of the liturgies, were sent through the post to all bishops of the Anglican Communion throughout the world. These documents did much to inform the members of the Conference, and to facilitate the passing of the resolutions which the report of the Conference records.

"At this Conference the Archbishop (as he now was) sat upon a committee which reported to the Conference as to 'Old Catholics and others.' The part of that report which had the special interest of the Archbishop, and in the wording of which I understand that he had a large share, referred in the following terms to the 'reformers of Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal':

"'The same remark applies with even greater force to the smaller groups of brave and earnest men of the Latin races, driven under somewhat similar circumstances to associate themselves in separate congregations in Italy, France, Spain, and

Portugal. We sympathise with their efforts to free themselves from the burden of unlawful communion. We have reason to believe that there are many who think with them, but have not seen the way to follow the outward steps which they have taken. We trust that in time they may be enabled to adopt such sound forms of doctrine and discipline and to secure such Catholic organisation as will permit us to give them fuller recognition.'

"It should be understood that the report from which the above is an extract had only the authority of the committee. The Conference was only responsible for the formal resolutions which followed it. Among these were the two following, which were carried *nem. con.*:

"'1. That, with regard to the reformers in Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal, struggling to free themselves from the burden of unlawful terms of communion, we trust that they may be enabled to adopt such forms of doctrine and discipline and to secure such Catholic organisation as will permit us to give them a fuller recognition.

"'2. That, without desiring to interfere with the rights of bishops of the Catholic Church to interfere in cases of extreme necessity, we deprecate any action which does not regard primitive and established principles of jurisdiction and the interests of the whole Anglican Communion.'

* * * * *

"Two extracts from Lord Plunket's letters will show his impressions at the time. The first, dated from London, July 9, 1888, is as follows:

"'I cannot speak very hopefully of the prospects of the Conference report respecting Cabrera's consecration. I did my best in laying the matter before the bishops, and several present told me afterwards that what I said produced a favourable impression on many. But though nothing was said at the time against the proposed consecration, I can see clearly that there is a

large amount of ignorance in some, prejudice in others, and bitter hostility in not a few.'

"The second extract is also from London, and is dated July 26, 1888, after the meeting of a sub-committee which discussed the matter in detail:

"'The result of the Lambeth Conference is not yet published, and I cannot therefore speak fully on the subject. But though the report will no doubt fall short of what we could wish, and will speak in language of extreme caution (if not deprecation), *it will leave it perfectly open to the Irish bishops to act with perfect freedom.* In some of its utterances the report will serve to help us not a little.'"

Lord Plunket's extreme optimism was never so clearly seen as on this occasion. He laid too much stress upon the expressions of sympathy. The conclusion at which he arrived was made known in the course of his first public utterance on the subject, which was made in London in August of this same year. He said:

"The result of the whole matter is that it remains perfectly open to any bishops of the Anglican Communion to consecrate a bishop for the Reformed Church in Spain without thereby running counter to the pronouncements of the Lambeth Conference, provided only that they proceed with the caution demanded by the gravity of such a step, and take special care that there shall not be conveyed to the bishop so consecrated any such territorial title as would imply a claim on his part to jurisdiction over others not belonging to his own flock."

As soon as it became generally known that this was the position taken up by Lord Plunket, he received an immense number of letters, some approving and others condemning his conclusions. He had written a letter to the *Guardian* stating his views, and it is interesting to note that some even of his Irish brethren could not agree with him, as is witnessed by the following letter from Dr. Gregg, then Bishop of Cork, and afterwards Primate of Ireland:

"THE PALACE, CORK,
"*Dec.* 17, 1888.

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,

"As you asked me to read your letter in the *Guardian*, I venture to write to you on the subject; and I hope that you will allow me to say what I think, as I do not do so in a spirit of controversy, but in a spirit of entire friendliness and with a real desire to help the work in Spain.

"I read your letter with much interest, and from your point of view I think it is a very good and perfectly fair letter, but I cannot at all agree with you in the view which you take of the resolutions and recommendations of the Lambeth Conference. I think their plain meaning is that those who consented to them will not take formal action at present. It seems to me that the hope expressed about obtaining Catholic organisation plainly points to some source outside the body of those who consented—*i.e.*, the Anglican Communion, strictly speaking.

"I am convinced that this is the meaning a large majority of the bishops present would put upon it, and I believe a majority of the clergy in Ireland and the informed laity.

"Now, if we, the Irish bishops, were to treat it as we should treat an Act of Parliament which we wished to evade, I believe we should excite a very strong feeling against the Irish Church on the part of English Church opinion, and I believe we should create a very serious division in our own Church. So that I confess I look forward with apprehension to the idea of this

matter being pressed. I cannot see that our Church ought to take this burden upon it. I do not think it would be in the interest of progress in Spain for them to be so closely identified with us as they would be if this thing were done by us. I believe it would be much better for them to look to an Old Catholic source for consecration, and not to make the whole Anglican Communion responsible for success or failure, as it would be, and as the majority of the bishops feel that it would be, if the Irish bishops were the consecrators.

"You will see, then, that I feel strongly about it. I know that I am not alone in the opinion, so that I do look forward with apprehension to such a difference of opinion as there would be amongst us. I know well the earnest and self-sacrificing interest you have taken in the question, and I hope you will believe that others, who do not see it as you do, are really anxious for the success of the work in Spain.

"I feel that in this question we are bound to give due weight to the natural meaning of the Lambeth resolutions. I hope I have not said anything I should not have said. I should be very thankful if you could see some way of avoiding the difficulties which I apprehend.

"I am,

"Yours very faithfully,

"R. S. CORK."

The question of obtaining some other source of consecration was one that was afterwards fully considered. But it seemed to Lord Plunket that the chief hope for these poor Spanish reformers lay in obtaining the help of the Church of Ireland. He had found the congregations already separated by their own act from the Church of Rome, and desirous of forming themselves into an Episcopal Church. Believing in the necessity of providing them with a bishop, and pitying and sympathising with them from his heart, he determined to

leave no stone unturned to obtain for them their desire, in spite of the opposition of a party in the Anglican Communion who might have been supposed to be the very persons who would have laid most stress upon the necessity of the existence in every Church of the three orders of the ministry.

The letters and articles appearing in certain English Church newspapers on the subject were anything but creditable to their writers. High Churchmen appeared to have lost their balance altogether when considering the subject. It is said that a certain society, which is in the habit of printing petitions for use in the prayers of its members, actually inserted one that the Archbishop of Dublin might be foiled in his wicked purpose —or words to that effect! When, ultimately, Señor Cabrera was consecrated, the English Church Union, with characteristic modesty, addressed a letter of condolence to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Toledo. In this letter the signatories described themselves as "representing the ancient and illustrious Church of England." It is amusing to note that Cardinal Vaughan sent an immediate despatch to his Spanish brother, telling him that the members of the English Church Union in no sense represented the ancient Church of England, but were a portion of a Protestant sect founded in that country.

It is good indeed to notice Lord Plunket's reception of these various attacks. His letters were marked by a broad, generous spirit, and contrasted with those of his opponents in being completely free from bitterness. On the occasion of the incident concerning the English Church Union mentioned above he had an

admirable opportunity of creating sympathy with himself. He had to preside at the meeting of his Diocesan Synod. A correspondent writing about this meeting says :

"Nothing could have been easier, nothing more calculated to secure a perfect ovation of triumph in the Synod, than a reference to this incident [Cardinal Vaughan's despatch], in which the E.C.U. had been so worsted in its not over-generous attack upon the Archbishop. But what happened? Simply nothing. The Archbishop did not refer to the incident at all. Chivalrously straight, he could fight his own battles, but disdained a mere party triumph at the instance of Rome, and that, too, although he bitterly regretted that English Churchmen should have acted as the members of the E.C.U. did on this occasion."

These events have been recorded out of their proper chronological order from a desire to treat briefly and once for all this unpleasant subject. From all attacks Lord Plunket came out unsullied, for he had the enormous advantage of never forgetting that he was both a Christian and a gentleman.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SPANISH QUESTION—(CONTINUED)

THE Archbishop, having determined to make an attempt to obtain the sympathy of the Irish bishops for the memorialists of the Reformed Churches in Spain and Portugal, who asked them to consecrate Señor Cabrera, prepared the way by a draft resolution, which he submitted to the meeting of Irish bishops on February 19, 1889. This draft resolution bears evidence that he fully realised the reluctance of some among their number to be parties to the consecration, and one of the printed copies of it is endorsed in his own handwriting, "This is a tentative resolution, which I have drawn up as one which I could accept without a protest."

DRAFT RESOLUTION.

"That we, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Ireland, continue to watch with unabated interest the efforts in which the memorialists are engaged, and cordially appreciate their desire for that further Episcopal organisation without which their work of Church reform must remain incomplete.

"But, while willing to aid them so far as we legiti-

mately can in securing the object which they have in view, we cannot shut our eyes to the wide difference of opinion which exists among the members of the Anglican Communion generally, and even among ourselves, concerning many serious questions to which the prayer of the memorialists has given rise; and more particularly as to how far a compliance by the Irish Episcopate with that prayer would be in accord with the resolutions of the Lambeth Conference, to which body this matter was formally submitted at our instance. Nor can we ignore the grave doubts entertained by some as to whether (without further legislation on the part of our General Synod) the consecration of a bishop for a foreign Church, and the use for such a purpose of a Service differing from that prescribed in our own Ordinal, is permissible.

"Having regard to these difficulties, and to the interests of peace within our own Church and the Anglican Communion at large, we are compelled to inform the memorialists that we cannot see our way to comply with their prayer. But, while saying so, we would express our hope that they may before long succeed in obtaining the aid for which they seek from some source where the difficulties which embarrass us do not exist; and sincerely do we trust that they may secure thereby even a larger measure of sympathy and support than, in the event of our compliance, they might have reason to expect."

The fact that the resolutions ultimately passed by the meeting of the bishops were almost exactly those

which Lord Plunket had thus drafted is an evidence of the clearness with which he had foreseen and grasped the situation.

The resolutions of the bishops concluded with the following:

"The Archbishop of Dublin having intimated to us his intention of shortly visiting Spain and Portugal, we hereby request him to convey to the memorialists the message contained in the foregoing resolution."

It may be well to mention here that the hope expressed that the memorialists would obtain the help they needed from other sources was doomed to disappointment.

In October 1889 the American bishops passed a resolution forbidding the employment of Bishop Riley of Mexico. That cut off one source of assistance. The Old Catholics, who were also asked, and who were (some of them) ready to consecrate, were ultimately prevented by the terms of their agreement with the Old Catholics of Holland, whose consent was necessary but could never be obtained.

Immediately after the meeting of Irish bishops mentioned above, Lord Plunket started for his third visit to Spain, to convey the message to the reformers.

Dr. Noyes writes:

"Owing to pressing home engagements, the visit was necessarily a short one, but it was long enough to convince the Spanish Church (did they need it) that they had in Lord Plunket a tried and valued friend, one who shrank from no

amount of labour on their behalf, and in whose hands they could safely leave the future."

One of the Archbishop's chief interests at this time was the proposed new church buildings at Madrid, to which reference has already been made. A letter from him, written during this spring of 1889, will explain how the negotiations had progressed.

[*To Dr. Noyes.*]

"THE PALACE, STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN,
"*April* 3, 1889.

"MY DEAR NOYES,

"On Monday afternoon I received a telegram from Cabrera, 'Site provisionally granted.' On the following morning I received a letter written on March 30, two days before the auction, in which he explains that the site would be granted to the best tender, but on condition of the transaction *being approved by the Minister of War*, and that if I should receive a telegram stating that it had been 'provisionally granted,' I was to understand that it was secured subject only to that approval.

"The approval (if given) would be given some days after the auction. The matter therefore stands thus: that the tender made by Cabrera was the highest, and that the site is ours *if* the Minister of War approves. As to whether he is likely to approve or not Cabrera says nothing in his letter, and we must therefore remain in suspense till I hear from him again. . . .

"Yours sincerely,
"PLUNKET DUBLIN."

Not content with all that he was doing in Ireland, England, and Spain itself for the cause of the reformers, Lord Plunket felt that the sympathy and support of the American Church were so important that he arranged to go over himself and plead the cause of his Spanish friends.

His berth was actually taken on board the *Servia*, which sailed on Sept. 21, 1889, but he never went, for the serious illness of Lady Plunket—the illness which terminated fatally—made it impossible for him to leave Ireland.

The next event of importance in connection with this portion of Lord Plunket's work was the ordination to the diaconate of Mr. Andrew Cassels in the private chapel of the Palace, Dublin. Dr. Noyes states the facts as follows:

"In July 1891 Lord Plunket ordained in his private chapel in Dublin the Rev. Andrew Cassels as a clergyman of the Lusitanian Church. This action gave rise to extraordinary excitement in Church circles. The facts are briefly these: Mr. Andrew Cassels, resident in Portugal for many years and a naturalised Portuguese subject [he was an Englishman by birth and nephew of a former Vicar of Batley in Yorkshire], had built a church near Oporto, and had there ministered as a layman for many years. After the organisation of the Lusitanian Church, upon mature reflection he decided to apply to the Synod of that Church asking them to add his congregation to their numbers. This was done, and application was made to the Archbishop of Dublin for Mr. Cassels' ordination. As a matter of convenience the ordination took place in Dublin. A large number of the clergy were present, and the scene was most impressive."

The extreme High Church party, "always bitterly

opposed to reform from Rome," put out a circular calling attention to the matter in a somewhat curious manner. Their chief cause of complaint appeared to be that the Archbishop had not used the form appointed by the Irish Prayer-book, but they go on to say (1) that the form he was supposed to have used differed but little from that in the Irish Prayer-book, and (2) that they did not know what the form was which he used in Spain—and which, presumably, they thought he used on this occasion.

The animus and the ignorance (at least as displayed by some of his accusers) with which he was attacked are perhaps better forgotten, but the following quotation from a letter written by a learned Englishman on the subject is worth giving:

"The charge against Lord Plunket was that he ordained a Spaniard to serve in the Spanish Reformed Church, whose liturgy was attacked by many who had never seen it, nor could construe it even if they had it in their hands. The fact is that the candidate was an Englishman [by birth] ordained to serve in the Portuguese Church, against whose liturgy no objection had been raised."

If many and clamorous voices were raised against the Archbishop, their outcry was no less strongly condemned by many men of weight, one of the English bishops describing it as "an unwarrantable attempt to interfere with the liberties and independence of the Irish Church."

Now once more to quote Dr. Noyes:

"As may well be supposed, after such a terrible affliction

[the death of Lady Plunket], the Archbishop was unable for some time to take so public a part as before in the matter of the Reformed Churches; but he was none the less busy with his pen. The year 1890 saw three remarkable appeals written by him for the building fund of the new church at Madrid. The first was entitled 'And now why tarriest thou?' the second 'A bow at a venture,' and the third bears a title which shows the success of the two former—viz., 'At work.' The site had at length been purchased [the consent of the Minister of War having been obtained] for £3500, and the workmen were now, at the end of 1890, preparing the foundations.

"The laying of the first stone of the church took place in March 1891, without any special demonstration, owing to the state of public feeling. . . ."

The Archbishop was not present on the occasion, but in the course of a number of letters written by him on the subject he refers frequently to an article in a leading Madrid journal, *El Eco Nacional*, which pleased him greatly. The article, which described the ceremony of the laying of the stone, opened with the words, "The triumph of liberty of conscience has become at last a clearly-defined fact in our country." This shows the bearing of the whole article, but its concluding sentences must also be quoted. They were these:

"What a beautiful contrast! What a magnificent picture of love and tolerance! Yesterday the heretic was burnt; to-day one prays with him! Yesterday he was hated; to-day his hand is grasped with kindness! Yesterday it was cursing; to-day it is blessing! Glory to progress! The religious frontiers have disappeared!"

The year 1892 was in its early months a period of

anxiety to Lord Plunket. He had contemplated a visit to Spain in February, but an attack of influenza prevented the journey. Moreover, party feeling ran so high in both England and Ireland that he thought it better to wait.

"This readiness to wait," says Dr. Noyes, "and calmly to bear disappointment was a marked trait in the Archbishop's character. The charge was sometimes made that he acted precipitately, but those who knew him best understood how untrue the charge was."

An exceedingly interesting letter to Canon Meyrick sets out the Archbishop's reasons for delay. He says:

"THE PALACE, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN,

"*Feb.* 26, 1892.

"MY DEAR MEYRICK,

* * * * *

"For my own part, I have never for a moment wavered in my belief that the Lambeth Conference not only left it perfectly open to the Irish bishops to consecrate a bishop for the Spanish reformers, but that by the pronouncements, both of that Conference and the Conference of 1878, respecting our responsibilities towards such reformers in their time of need, it really imposed upon us the *duty* of taking such a step. My loyalty to the Lambeth Conference therefore had nothing to do with my refraining from the consecration of a bishop. What really prevented me was the fact that *some* of my brethren saw difficulties as regards the interpretation of the Lambeth report (and other

matters too) which *I* did *not*, and accordingly I refrained from taking the step (and our Episcopate collectively refrained), 'in the interests of peace and unity.'

* * * * *

"Respecting primitive jurisdiction, I do not consider these principles as opposing a bar to the consecration of a bishop (any more than to the ordaining of a priest) under exceptional circumstances—*provided* no claim (such as that of Rome) is made to jurisdiction by any bishop over those not belonging to his flock. . . .

"Perhaps I may add that in a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury [Dr. Benson], written to me on Oct. 29, 1888, while the action of our Episcopate was still pending, he says in reference to the intention of the Lambeth Assembly, 'The bishops assembled were as anxious to forbear from expressing what might read like a judgment of disapproval without full knowledge of detail, as they were unwilling to have their sanction or approval invoked beforehand.' This is exactly what I have assumed to be their purpose.

"I am the more anxious on this point because, if ever the Irish bishops should come to the conclusion that, all other efforts to obtain consecration elsewhere having failed, and the inconvenience of prolonging my provisional intervention having become apparent, the time had come for reconsidering their former decision, I should not wish it to be thought that I (or they) were acting either disloyally to the Lambeth

Conference or inconsistently as regards our former declaration. . . .

"Yours affectionately,

"PLUNKET DUBLIN."

Throughout all the discussions on these matters frequent reference is naturally made to the opinions of the Irish Church. What these were (so far as the clergy were concerned) is evident from two printed documents, the first of which is dated February 1892. The present Primate of Ireland, at that time Bishop of Derry, had made a proposal that there should be a temporary suspension of the episcopal assistance given by Lord Plunket to the Reformed Churches until a conference could be held with some of the bishops of the Anglican Communion. This drew forth the first of the two documents in the shape of a declaration (published in the *Guardian*, the *Record*, and the *Rock*) to the following effect:

"1. That we express hereby our sympathy with the reformers in Spain and Portugal who, under many exceptional difficulties, are struggling to free themselves from the burden of unlawful terms of communion.

"2. That, regarding their case as having become one of extreme necessity, and recognising the rights of bishops of the Catholic Church to interpose in such cases, we do not feel called upon to protest against the action contemplated by his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, who has announced his purpose of holding ordinations on behalf of the reformers in Spain and Portugal in the course of the ensuing year.

"3. That we have received with satisfaction his Grace's assurance that when carrying that purpose into effect he will confine his ministrations within the limits of those countries,

and use during the laying on of hands the words enjoined in the service of our own Church."

This declaration was signed by all but three of the Irish bishops, the dissentients being the then Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishops of Down and Derry.

Of the opinion of the rest of the Irish clergy proof was afterwards forthcoming by the publication of the second of the two documents to which allusion was made. This was not until after Señor Cabrera's consecration by Lord Plunket had taken place, but it is useful to quote it here in connection with the opinion of the bishops on the whole matter.

The document consisted of a protest against the consecration, and was signed by as many of the Irish clergy as could possibly be persuaded to put their names at its foot. On examination it is found that less than one-tenth of the clergy of Ireland consented to sign, and no more than one-twentieth of those who belonged to the united diocese of Dublin.

It may be fairly taken for granted that the proportion of lay members of the Church of Ireland who objected to the course taken by the Archbishop was smaller still.

So far, then, as Ireland was concerned, Lord Plunket had plenty of support, though some of it was of a cautious character. Those members of the English Church whose sympathies he had from time to time enlisted contained such names as Archbishop Tait, Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop Harold Browne, and many others almost as well known for

piety and learning; but there always seemed to be a certain half-heartedness on the part of his English friends, due partly to a lack of the splendid courage which he possessed, partly to the position of the Church of England as a State Church, and partly to the fear of increasing the clamour of the High Church party.

CHAPTER XVII

ATTEMPTED CONSECRATION OF THE MADRID CHURCH

THE buildings in Madrid were now near completion, and in November 1892 Lord Plunket determined to go over and consecrate the church. In view of this event, he asked the Bishops of Clogher and Down to associate themselves with him as a council of bishops. They both accepted the duty, but the latter was prevented at the last moment from undertaking the journey.

It was hoped to make the consecration an occasion of great interest and importance, and with this end in view invitations had been sent to Père Hyacinthe, Count Campello (Italian Reformed Church), Rev. Ugo Janni (San Remo), Dr. Noyes (Paris), Canon Meyrick, and other friends. As the result of these invitations a most remarkable meeting took place in the middle of the night of November 30. The Bishop of Clogher (Dr. Stack) gives the following graphic account:

"The Archbishop and his fellow-travellers were joined on their way from Valladolid to Madrid, in the middle of the night, at the junction of Medina, by Père Hyacinthe, who had

come with Dr. Noyes from Paris, and with whom were Mr. and Mrs. McCall, from Walthamstow: Count Campello and Rev. Ugo Janni were also of this party. Such a meeting, at such a time and place, of persons of so many different nations, yet all intent upon the same great object, was a very remarkable event. The variety of languages, the warmth of the greetings, the kindly hand-clasps (the meaning of which needed no interpreter), the dim uncertain light, which baffled the effort to mark the countenances of men so long known in their work; all the surroundings, in short, made this meeting at Medina one of the most interesting occurrences of the Archbishop's journey. It would not, indeed, be unsuitably called an historical event. Who can tell what the future result may be?"

It is fortunately possible to give the Archbishop's own account of the visit and its results, as contained in a letter which he wrote to *The Times*. He said:

"RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN SPAIN: A BATTLE FOUGHT AND WON.

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE TIMES.'

"SIR,—A hard battle on behalf of religious liberty has just been fought and won by the reformers of Madrid; and, as the circumstances of the case are imperfectly known to some, I would ask leave to state the facts which have come under my own observation. In so doing I shall bring no reproach against the Spanish nation—much less against the Government over which Señor Sagasta has just been called to preside, and to which in this matter all credit is due. Rather will it be my aim to show that the Spanish people, as a whole, should not be held responsible for the misguided

intolerance of a few Ultramontane partisans. The circumstances of the case are as follows :

"There is at present in Spain a small group of native Protestants known as the 'Reformed Spanish Church.' The members of this body, while attached to Evangelical principles, have adopted an episcopal constitution and a fixed liturgy based, to a great extent, on the ancient Mozarabic rite. Their aim, as stated in the preface to this liturgy (a translation of which can be obtained through any bookseller from the publishers, Messrs. Thom and Co., Dublin), is 'not to introduce a new religion, but to return to the primitive purity of early Christianity, disembarrassing and clearing it from the thorns and noxious weeds which have been wilfully sown, or from ignorance allowed to spring up in the midst of it.' These reformers may, in fact, be described as the 'Old Catholics' of Spain, and as such their representatives met with a cordial recognition at the late Lucerne (Old Catholic) Congress. There can be no doubt—I may say in passing—that their leader (Señor Cabrera) would have, long ere now, received consecration from the Old Catholic bishops of Germany and Switzerland, were it not for the intervention of the Old Catholics of Holland, who withheld their consent on the ground that the clergy of the 'Reformed Spanish Church' are required to subscribe a 'declaration of doctrine' identical in substance with our own 'Thirty-nine Articles.' This action of the Dutch Old Catholics (by whom some of our 'Articles' are, I believe, considered heretical) may not cause surprise. But loyal Churchmen of our own communion—especially those by whom these 'Articles' have been

subscribed—will not, I hope, regard the reformers of Spain with less sympathy because their application was refused on such a plea.

"The adherents of this little Church are at present but few in number—amounting in all to about 2500 souls. Their congregations are, however, widely distributed throughout the land, being found in Madrid, Seville, Malaga, Valladolid, Salamanca, and other centres of national life, and these congregations, be it remembered, have all come into being within an interval of less than five-and-twenty years.

"As regards my own relation to this Church a few words are necessary. Some twelve years ago a memorial was presented to the Irish bishops by these reformers, asking for the consecration of their bishop-elect; and at the request of my brethren I visited Spain and Portugal for the purpose of making inquiries as to the subject referred to therein. That visit convinced me beyond a doubt that the movement in question was a real one, and that it was not due either to artificial pressure from without or to self-interest, but to a deep-seated craving for something more in the shape of religious liberty and spiritual help than had been found by these reformers within the Church of Rome. The same impressions were left upon my mind by two subsequent visits, during the course of which, with the sanction of my brethren at home, I consented, at the earnest request of these reformers, to discharge for them certain episcopal functions from which, for lack of a bishop of their own, they would otherwise have been debarred.

"I have thought it right to make these preliminary remarks in order to show that, when holding out a helping hand to these reformers in their hour of need, my action has been neither arbitrary nor intrusive. Following what I believe to be the precedents of the early Christian Church, I have taken no step without first consulting the prelates of my own communion, or without first receiving an invitation from those among whom my duties were to be performed. There are, I know, some who think that in so acting I have trespassed upon the domain of the Church of Rome; and this might with more reason have been urged had I intruded my episcopal offices on any flocks belonging to her fold. But to represent the Church of Rome as claiming exclusive jurisdiction not only over those who acknowledge her sway, but over those whom she has herself publicly disowned as outcasts from her pale, would be to charge that Church with a lack, not only of Christian charity, but of common sense—a charge which she should be the first to resent. In any case, such a notion has always seemed to me at variance with every instinct of liberty and justice, and, whether rightly or wrongly, my conscience has never allowed me to give it a moment's thought.

"I now pass on to the visit from which I have just returned, and to the strange results which followed in its train. I made that visit under special circumstances. In undertaking it I was armed by the sanction of an overwhelming majority both of the Episcopate and the General Synod of my own Church —a sanction given with more formality and deliberation

than in any prior case. I had the great satisfaction of being accompanied by another Irish prelate — the Bishop of Clogher. The invitation, moreover, which reached me from the Spanish reformers was on this occasion invested with an exceptional interest, for I was asked not merely to ordain their pastors and confirm their children, but also to open formally a new range of buildings (including a church, schoolhouse, synod-hall, and parsonage), which had just been erected on a prominent site in the city of Madrid. The cost of these buildings, including the purchase of the site (in itself nearly £4000) and the furnishing of the rooms, amounts to more than £12,000, of which about £10,000 has been already raised in Great Britain and Ireland. These buildings are, in fact, a gift to the reformers of Madrid from the many friends here at home who wish them well. The church, I may add, which forms the central block, is intended as a special token of sympathy from Irish Churchmen, who have made themselves responsible for the whole outlay (more than £3000) which its erection and its fittings involve.

"The prospect of opening these buildings and consecrating this church was in itself enough to give a special interest to my visit, but there was yet another reason. It was thought by many that such an occasion might fitly serve as an opportunity for gathering together some of those leading reformers in other lands who were likely to sympathise with their brethren in Spain. Conferences for the purpose of such Christian union and brotherly converse had been held at Grindelwald and at Lucerne;

why not, then, at Madrid? Accordingly, invitations were sent to Père Hyacinthe in France and to Count Campello in Italy, and were by both gladly accepted.

"Such were the circumstances which gave promise of a happy reunion, in Christian fellowship, of brethren who, while recognising to the full the sacred right of others to worship God as their conscience might dictate, did not consider it presumptuous to claim for themselves a similar right, and nothing more. They well knew that no public demonstration was permissible under Spanish law on the part of any religious community outside the Church of Rome, and this rule they were prepared loyally to observe. But the right to meet within the walls of their own place of worship they deemed to be inalienably theirs, and they looked forward confidently to using it without let or hindrance. Meanwhile, however, others were on the alert to thwart these expectations. A number of ladies in high position, well known as devoted adherents of the Church of Rome, waited upon the Archbishop of the province, and entreated him to do what he could to prevent the opening of the new church. The Ultramontane Press fulminated against all who were to be represented in the proposed gathering. Père Hyacinthe and Count Campello were denounced as 'apostates,' and their friends of the Anglican communion as 'pagans.' The opening of so attractive a church in so prominent a position by Protestants was described as an 'audacious' attempt to 'desecrate' the Catholic city of Madrid. The whole thing was a 'scandal,' and should on no terms be allowed. Upon the other hand,

very tolerant and even friendly notices, expressing, as I believe, the feelings of the vast majority of the citizens, appeared in some of the Liberal papers, and for a while no real obstacle seemed to block the way.

"Great, therefore, was our surprise and disappointment when on the day preceding that fixed for our opening service a message arrived from the Alcalde (or 'Mayor') saying that no such opening could be allowed until the certificate of the municipal architect had been first obtained. A word of explanation is here necessary.

"Before a religious meeting can be held in any new building two pre-requisites are demanded by the letter of the law. In the first place, notice of the meeting and of its object must be sent to the authorities. This condition, as a rule, is rigidly exacted, and in the case of the new buildings it had been duly observed. The other condition is of a more formal and, in ordinary cases, of a far less stringent character. It has in view simply the security and habitable fitness of the building from an architect's point of view, and has no relation to what may take place within its walls. In cases where no structural insecurity or unfitness is to be apprehended this requirement becomes a mere formality, and a visit of the inspector long after the building has been opened is deemed an ample fulfilment of its purpose. Inasmuch as the erection of the new buildings in question had been superintended by the architect of the King's palace, it had not been deemed necessary to apply for a certificate previous to the opening. It was no doubt an oversight, but it was

a pardonable one, and one which under other circumstances would never for a moment have been used for obstructive purposes. But in this case it was turned to that account, and everybody in Madrid, as the public papers testified, knew well the motive which prompted the act.

"If this had been all, however, the remedy would not have been far to seek, for there was still time enough to obtain the required certificate and to open the church before those who had come from great distances and at great inconvenience had dispersed to their homes again. Application was therefore at once made to the authorities, and our hopes revived. But again disappointment was in store. Hour after hour, day after day, passed by, and yet the application was allowed to lie on the Alcalde's table, and the mere technical formalities of inspection, which half-an-hour would have sufficed to fulfil, were vexatiously postponed.

"At last, when Saturday arrived and no answer had been received, all prospect of opening the church in the presence of the friends (including Père Hyacinthe and Count Campello) who had been invited to witness it was abandoned, and it was resolved that the consecration should be postponed until after my retnrn from Portugal, for which I was about to start on the following night, and where I purposed to spend a week or ten days.

"Meanwhile we looked forward to the opportunity that would be given us on the intervening Sunday for meeting together in common worship before setting forth on our separate journeys. True, we could not

hope to assemble, as we had expected, in the new church, but we could do so in the large Synod Hall, which forms a part of the new buildings, and which, without any protest from the authorities, had been used by the congregation as a provisional place of worship for the last fourteen months. But even this was not to be.

"Upon the Sunday morning a message came from the Alcalde to the effect that even in this hall our service should not take place, and a detachment of civil guards was posted opposite the entrance to bar any ingress from without. Supposing that the Alcalde might have thus acted under a suspicion that it was our purpose, under pretence of assembling in the Synod Hall, to make our way through it into the church, we despatched a messenger to assure him respectfully that such was not the case, and suggesting that, by placing the guards within the church, he could effectually prevent any such action on our part. But it was of no use.

"Looking out from the windows of the pastor's residence (which forms the right-hand block of the new buildings), we saw our friends one by one reaching the entrance of the Synod Hall, and one by one forbidden to pass within. Not only so. Admission to the pastor's house itself was prohibited, and we, his guests, were informed that should we pass out from beneath his roof we should not be allowed to return. Finally, it was arranged that our service should be held in a church kindly placed at our disposal for the purpose by another reformed congregation in Madrid, and in order to take part in

it we, who were the pastor's guests, had to pack up our goods and find shelter in a hotel pending our start for Portugal that night. Not inaptly said a friend who was waiting for us as we left the house, and who accompanied us to the hotel, that he somehow felt as if he were taking part in a prison-gate mission!

"As to the service which was held that afternoon in the little chapel to which I have referred, I shall say but little. It was a time of holy, happy communion between men of different races and different Churches, many of whom had dared and suffered much for conscience' sake. Especially solemn was the moment when, during the rite of ordination—with a view to which the service was held,—there were laid upon the head of the kneeling candidate the hands not only of myself, my brother bishop, and an English dignitary, but also those of Señor Cabrera, Père Hyacinthe, and Count Campello, representing, as they did, the three great Latin races of the world, and betokening by their action the unity that should exist between them and us. It was enough to witness such a scene in order to be assured that the coming together of such men for such a service, at whatever cost or inconvenience, was not in vain. 'It marks an era,' said Père Hyacinthe to me, as he grasped my hand at parting, 'in the history of the Christian Church!'

"But to return. Refreshing beyond measure were these tokens of Christian union to which I have just referred. But as regards the cause of religious liberty, the battle had hitherto gone against us. A change for the better was now at hand.

"That night I and my brother bishop with two companions bid good-bye to our friends from other lands and started for Portugal. But before we left the hotel an event occurred which gave us courage. Señor Castelar, the great Spanish orator and well-known foe of religious intolerance, called upon Père Hyacinthe and asked for an interview on the following day. What took place at that interview I know not. But a meeting between two such men must have been full of interest, and, as regards the cause of religious liberty, their converse cannot have been in vain. Immediately after that interview there appeared in a leading Liberal journal (*El Globo*) an editorial article protesting in temperate but firm language against what had taken place. 'It is disgraceful,' said the writer, 'that the Archbishop of Dublin should return to his country and there bear witness to the intolerance which rules here. But it is above all unjust and illegal to ignore a sacred right which the Protestants invoke in order freely to hold their religious services under the shelter of the Constitution.' Such manifestations of public opinion, backed up by influence brought to bear upon the authorities from other sources, cannot have been without some effect. But God's ways are not our ways. By a strange coincidence an unexpected event occurred, just at this very crisis, which altogether altered the position of affairs.

"In consequence of some financial complications the Ministry of Señor Canovas, then in power—a Ministry notably subject to Ultramontane influence—resigned the seals of office, and the reins of government

were transferred to Señor Sagasta, a statesman who more nearly represents the aspirations of the Spanish people, and in whose hands the interests of religious liberty have always been comparatively safe. By the time that we returned to Portugal this sudden transformation scene had taken place; and though, owing to the hurry and confusion attending a change of Ministry, no formal communication was received from the authorities which would have allowed the church to be opened before our departure from Madrid, the question, meanwhile, was not being overlooked; and it was with feelings of unspeakable thankfulness that, a few hours before our homeward start, we read in a morning journal the report of a council held by the new Ministry, at which, among other resolutions, it was determined that no further obstruction should be permitted to hinder the opening of the new church and the holding of services therein. It was no doubt a disappointment to me and my companions that, through the Ultramontane tactics of a few narrow-minded partisans, we and the friends that had joined us from other lands had been debarred from taking part in the opening of that church. But pending the formal act of consecration, which I trust I may be spared to consummate at some future time, I have licensed the building, meanwhile, for the celebration of divine worship and the ministration of the sacraments; and, unless some unforeseen reverse should intervene, the opening of the church for such holy purposes will ere long most surely take place. The rights of conscience have been vindicated. The battle for religious liberty has been

fought, and, through the help of God, the battle has been won!

"The cause is a holy one, and, having gone so far, I must go through to the end. Again, therefore, I ask, are there not some who will liberally and promptly come to my help? I shall anxiously await a response.

"PLUNKET DUBLIN.

"The Palace, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin,
"*Dec.* 20."

The Bishop of Clogher adds much to the picturesqueness of the scene at Madrid by the following description of what he witnessed:

"On his arrival at Madrid the Archbishop found that the opening and consecration of the church would not be sanctioned by the authorities, but he was not prepared for the interference with the usual service in the Synod Hall. However, on Sunday morning, December 4, the police took possession of the buildings and would not allow any one to enter. The congregation and sympathising English friends assembled in the street. The scene was highly amusing and characteristic. One of the Archbishop's party attempted to leave the house to speak to a friend in the street, and immediately the gentleman in command of the police exclaimed, 'You must not venture to cross this line, or I shall not permit you to return.' A friend in the street called out, 'This is stupid!' and the officer became greatly excited. He insisted that this word must be withdrawn. However, the offender, who had been a resident in Spain for many years, treated him with scant respect, and he became suddenly quite quiet again. The scene was very ludicrous. Meanwhile the Archbishop sat upstairs very much perplexed and annoyed. Finally he decided to leave for an hotel, and

thus free himself from the hands of the police. In all this matter, as indeed in every difficulty which presented itself, the Archbishop showed the most remarkable self-control. It is impossible to see how he could, under very trying circumstances, have acted with greater prudence. All the party were thoroughly persuaded of this."

CHAPTER XVIII

CONSECRATION OF SEÑOR CABRERA

THE years 1893-94 were of great importance in the history of the Spanish Reformed Church. Great efforts were made by the authorities in Spain to prevent the progress of the Church in Madrid. On this subject Dr. Noyes says:

"Fears were often expressed by the Ultramontane party with respect to the Episcopal movement, it being felt that it contained elements of success which were not found in other bodies of reformed Christians, especially as it was an entirely native movement, *aided* only by a foreign Church."

An extract from one of Lord Plunket's letters to Dr. Noyes gives an impression of the efforts being made by some to frustrate the reformers' work. The letter is dated from Dublin on January 28, 1893:

"I have not yet heard from Cabrera as to permission having been given for the opening [of the church]. I advised him to remove the cross and the inscription, if it would facilitate the action of the Government in the matter, and am expecting to hear further from him every day. Several messengers—one from the Queen's Palace—have waited upon him, asking him if he would sell the buildings, and offering him *three times* their

value! He told them that all the Ultramontanes in Spain had not enough money to purchase them—that they were not built to be *sold*, but to be *used!*"

On March 17 of this year the church was at last opened, and Lord Plunket was much gratified at receiving the news in a letter from a civil engineer who had been for many years resident in Spain and had taken a deep interest in the movement for reform. This gentleman said that the church was opened in great order and amid a solemn awe which pervaded the congregation.

Early in 1894 Lord Plunket was busily engaged in preparing for the meeting of Irish bishops which took place in February. It was then that the famous communication was made by the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Clogher, and the Bishop of Down, who stated that, unless they were met by a formal protest in the shape of a resolution passed by the bench of Irish bishops or by the General Synod, they purposed, God willing, to visit Spain and Portugal, and there to consecrate for each of these two Churches a bishop, who should have been chosen by the Synod of that Church, and of whose fitness they themselves, after due investigation, should be fully satisfied. They then set forth the conditions on which they were prepared to act:

"I. We shall require an affirmation by the Synods of these Churches of guarantees similar to those which of their own accord they offered in the year 1883, and which were to the following effect—

"(i.) That until they shall have, in each case, three

bishops of their own, there shall be associated with their own bishop or bishops a provisional council consisting of two or three bishops of the Church of Ireland;

"(ii.) That during the same interval the Synod of each Church shall be pledged—

"(*a*) Not to permit the election or consecration of any bishop for the said Church without the written consent of the provisional council of bishops;

"(*b*) Not to alter or add to the doctrines, formularies, or discipline of the said Church without the previous approval of the provisional council;

"(*c*) To submit for the examination and sanction of the provisional council every resolution of a fundamental character that may be proposed for adoption by a future Synod.

"II. We shall require that an endowment fund of at least £5000 shall be guaranteed by those friends at home who may be willing to help in the accomplishment of this good work."

In reply to this communication, it was proposed by the Bishop of Derry, seconded by the Bishop of Cork, and lost:

"That the Archbishop and bishops do not see sufficient reason for departing from the spirit of their resolution of February 19, 1889."

It was then proposed by the Bishop of Killaloe, seconded by the Bishop of Meath, and passed—the Bishops of Derry and Cork not voting:

"That, considering the length of time during which the applications of the Spanish and Portuguese reformers for the consecration of bishops have been before us, the difficulties under which they have laboured, and the progress made during that time in numbers, in the adoption of liturgical services, in the building of churches, and in the forming of congregations,

they would not regard it as an indefensible exercise of the powers entrusted to the Episcopate if, at the request of such congregations, the Archbishop of Dublin, who is intimately acquainted with the history of the movement and with the characters of those who are carrying it on, acting in concert with two other bishops who may be willing to act with him, either of the Church of Ireland or of a Church in communion with the Church of Ireland, should, if he shall so deem fit, proceed to Spain and Portugal and there confer episcopal orders upon the two clergymen chosen in those two countries respectively by the representatives of the said congregations, and of whose personal fitness the consecrating bishops shall be fully satisfied."

A few days afterwards Lord Plunket wrote the following letter, which gives his views of the result of the bishops' meeting:

"THE PALACE, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN,
"*Feb.* 27, 1894.

"MY DEAR NOYES,

* * * * *

"The result of the bishops' meeting is indeed a cause of deep thankfulness to Almighty God. The resolution then passed—which I may say in confidence was drawn up by the Primate [Archbishop Knox]—was no doubt somewhat guarded (almost 'Gladstonian') in its actual wording, but was sufficient for the purpose in view. And it prevented an overt protest upon the part of some who might have contested it if expressed in a more definite form.

"Of course the action which I and the two other bishops purpose to take remains in suspense until the Synod has had an opportunity of entering a protest,

should it so think fit. But though until then I cannot finally announce my resolve, I do not anticipate any serious opposition, certainly not such as to warrant us in drawing back. A heavy broadsider from the *Guardian* or *Church Times* would, I think, be rather helpful than otherwise just now. . . .

"Yours sincerely,

"PLUNKET DUBLIN."

The General Synod met in the following April, and for two whole days debated the question. Most of the men of note in the Church of Ireland took part in the discussion, and Lord Plunket made one of his most brilliant speeches. In the end the following resolution was passed:

"That, seeing that memorials have been presented to the archbishops and bishops of the Church of Ireland by two organised bodies of reformers in Spain and Portugal respectively; and that the archbishops and bishops after full consideration of these memorials have passed a resolution which interposes no obstacle to a compliance with this request; and that the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Clogher, and the Bishop of Down have expressed their readiness, under certain conditions, to discharge the Episcopal duties for which the memorialists have sought:

"This Synod, believing that such action belongs entirely to the bishops themselves in the exercise of their Episcopal powers, subject only to the laws and canons of the Church—is satisfied, without expressing any opinion, to leave the matter entirely in their hands."

This resolution partakes to some degree of the timid character of almost all those passed (whether by the Lambeth Conference or Dublin Synod) on the subject.

The evident fear of the ecclesiastical "Mrs. Grundy" recalls the old story of the undergraduate who watched a member of another college drowning in the river, but would not help him "because he had never been introduced"! So the sticklers for ecclesiastical etiquette, and the timid ones who are always thinking "What will so-and-so say?" preferred to stand by and watch the struggles of the reformed Churches without committing themselves to a policy of assistance. Not so Lord Plunket. His chivalry was thoroughly aroused: he lost not a moment, now that his hands were free, in preparing for the journey which he and his two brother bishops were to make in the following September.

The main fear now was opposition on the part of the authorities in Spain. Lord Plunket, however, did not think that any serious obstacles would be found to exist.

"OLD CONNAUGHT HOUSE,
"BRAY, CO. WICKLOW,
"*Sept.* 6, 1894.

"MY DEAR NOYES,

"I have heard from Cabrera again. He has had an interview with the Civil Governor of Madrid (by order of the Government). The Civil Governor warned him against anything that could be interpreted as a *public manifestation*, such as notice of the intended consecration in the papers, &c., but said that if the thing were done quietly we should be protected. . . .

"Yours sincerely,
"PLUNKET DUBLIN."

It was finally decided that the consecration of Señor Cabrera should take place on Sunday, September 23, and on the previous Thursday the Archbishop and bishops, with Dr. Noyes and other friends, arrived at Madrid. The following description of the ceremony is taken from *Light and Truth*:

"The preparation of all the necessary documents and the arrangements for the solemn service on Sunday kept all engaged until a late hour on the Saturday night. Great anxiety was noticeable upon the faces of all. The Government had said that if no public manifestation was made and no notice put in the papers they would not interfere, and the fear was lest some one unfriendly to the work of reform should insert some notice in the Press, and give a pretext for interference, and it could not be forgotten by many present that it was on the Sunday morning on a former occasion that the authorities closed the buildings. I am thankful, however, to state that all has passed off without any hostile demonstration, and much credit is due to the Spanish authorities for their determination to protect the Spanish reformers in the exercise of their dearly bought liberties.

"The service was fixed for ten o'clock, an hour earlier than usual, as it would necessarily be longer than was customary.

"Punctually at the hour the three bishops, with Dr. Noyes acting as chaplain to the Archbishop of Dublin, proceeded to the vestry of the church, where they were met by the pastors of the several congregations in Spain, who had come to Madrid for the purpose, and also the members of the vestry. The pastors, with the Rev. J. B. Cabrera, passed down the church to the west door (which is still kept closed by the authorities) on one side of the church, the Archbishop, bishops, and chaplain proceeding down the other side of the church to meet the Spanish clergy. After the presentation and reading of the Act of Consecration, all proceeded to the chancel, the choir and congregation singing Psalm xxiv.

"After certain prayers from the 'Service for the Consecration of a Church' the Act was signed, and the service for the Holy Communion commenced. This service is peculiarly rich and beautiful, and the parts to be sung were heartily joined in by the choir and congregation.

"The Epistle was read by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Clogher, and the Gospel by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Down. After the Nicene Creed, a short sermon was preached by the Rev. F. Palomares, from San Basilio, Seville, from St. Matthew v. 14, 'Ye are the light of the world, a city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.' At the conclusion he addressed some earnest words to the Bishop-elect. Señor Palomares is the oldest pastor in the Spanish Reformed Church, and is much respected. At the close of the sermon the Bishop-elect was presented to the Archbishop by the Right Revs. the Bishops of Down and Clogher, and the election of Señor Cabrera to the solemn office by the Synod was read by one of the pastors.

"The Litany was said by the Rev. Antonio Garcia, the assistant clergyman in Madrid, and at its close the Archbishop took a chair at the chancel steps and put the solemn questions from the service to the Bishop-elect. These questions were put in English and Spanish, and answered by the Rev. J. B. Cabrera in a loud voice.

"After the Bishop-elect had been robed in surplice, purple and white cope, and purple stole, all having been prepared from an ancient model, the three bishops laid their hands upon the head of the Bishop-elect, and the first Bishop of a Reformed Church in Spain was duly consecrated. It was a solemn moment, one that will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it, and which evidently left a deep impression on all present."

The Bishop of Clogher writes as follows:

"When in 1894 Bishop Cabrera was consecrated the circumstances were most trying. Until the end of the service

there was no certainty that the proceedings would not be interrupted. During the whole service Señor Cabrera was weighed down with the deepest emotion, which was the more trying to witness since his usual bearing is that of a self-contained, thoughtful man, in complete command of his every feeling.

"After the service the scene in the vestry was wonderful. The clergy fell in turn upon the Bishop's neck and wept aloud. Their feelings, too, towards the Archbishop were expressed in the most striking manner. The Archbishop's expression was that of joy and gladness chastened by the thought of all that he had suffered and surmounted in the long effort which was now brought to a successful issue."

Dr. Noyes, in continuing the story, writes:

"After the ceremony, when we returned to the house of Bishop Cabrera, the Archbishop took my hand, saying, 'Well, Noyes, we have reason to thank God for this day.' We were both overcome, but it was not a time for many words. One felt it was indeed a making of history.

"The next morning we were all photographed in the *patio*. A medal was struck by order of the Synod to commemorate the event. . . ."

However views may differ as to the action of Lord Plunket, the importance of the step was at once recognised. The news was telegraphed all over the world. The Spanish papers were full of the subject, the clerical (or Ultramontane) Press being bitterly opposed, while the Liberal papers were jubilant at this advance towards religious liberty.

It would serve no good purpose to go over in detail the controversy which followed, and which lasted until the Archbishop's death.* When letters kept appearing

* The five charges made against Archbishop Plunket's action were:

in Church papers displaying a bitter spirit and a strange want of appreciation of the real facts of the case, Lord Plunket wrote:

"As you may see from the papers, I am still beset with foes—'they daily mistake my words.' I quite entered into the Psalmist's feelings as I joined in that complaint of his in last Sunday's Psalms."

1. Intrusion. 2. Heterodoxy. 3. Paucity of numbers. 4. Disregard of Anglican opinion. 5. The non-Mozarabic character of the Prayer-book when it claimed to be Mozarabic. These charges were disposed of in a speech by Canon Meyrick at a meeting held in Exeter Hall on March 29, 1895. The arguments were set forth at some length, and were most conclusive. A full report will be found in *The Foreign Church Chronicle and Review* for 1895, pp. 96, &c.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ITALIAN REFORMED CHURCH

ON the subject of Lord Plunket's work for the Italian reformers there is no such authority as Canon Meyrick, the personal friend of the Archbishop and the chief organiser of the Anglo-Continental Society.

With this society Lord Plunket was intimately associated. The main difference in views between him and the society was one of *time*. Both wished for reform from *inside* the Roman Church if possible. Lord Plunket saw the hopelessness of this sooner than other people. In all other respects he worked heart and soul with Canon Meyrick and his society.

Before passing to the exceedingly valuable paper written by Canon Meyrick, mention must be made of the labours of the late Miss Mayor, sister of Professor Mayor of Cambridge, whose interest in the work for the Italian reformers brought her into frequent communication withthe Archbishop.

One or two of his letters to this lady are of special interest. For instance, on the much disputed question of the *initiative* in his work for the foreign reformers, he writes on May 31, 1888 :

"We must be continually on our guard against the

supposition that *we* are the missionaries or the reformers. We are only helping by sympathy and money those who are reforming themselves."

Then there are one or two letters as to the liturgy, in which he and Canon Meyrick had suggested some alterations which were not altogether to the taste of Count Campello—the leader of the Italian reformers.

[*To Miss Mayor.*]

"THE PALACE, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN,
"*Oct.* 29, 1891.

". . . . The question is not what I myself may be prepared to tolerate in the Italian liturgy. If I were merely an interested spectator of the work, I should perhaps trouble myself but little as to whether the liturgy contained prayers for the dead or not. I would continue to sympathise all the same with the reformers, and to contribute towards their support. And of course, if Campello will not accept our amendments, that *is* the position which I shall occupy in the future. But it is as chairman of your committee, and as a public advocate for the cause, that I am staggered by what has taken place. I should never have undertaken the difficult task of organising that committee, and *inducing others to join it*, unless I had believed from Campello's distinct and often-repeated assurance that I could with an honest heart appeal to men and women of the Evangelical and Protestant section of our Church . . . . on behalf of this work as one which they could heartily approve. . . . To conceal this liturgy from them would be dishonest, and the

moment they see it that moment their sympathy in the movement must end, and they will justly complain of having been grievously misled. I have been misled. . . ."

[*To Miss Mayor.*]

"OLD CONNAUGHT HOUSE, BRAY,

"*Sept.* 23, 1891.

"I write now because of an expression [in a certain report] which is I fear misleading. It says 'the Bishop of Salisbury is perfectly at one with Lord Plunket about our liturgy.' Too glad would I be if this *were* the case, but, though I trust that some solution of the present difficulty may be found, I am sorry to say that the Bishop and (I fear) Campello are not prepared to accept the suggestions with reference to that liturgy which Canon Meyrick and myself ventured to offer as essential in our opinion to its finding favour with those by whom the work is at present supported."

"THE PALACE, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN,

"*March* 5, 1892.

"I wish much you would try to obtain for me some evidence (documentary or otherwise) of the fact that Canon Meyrick and myself were requested by Count Campello to revise his liturgy previous to its being submitted to the Bishop of Salisbury and to his Synod. I know that it was in accordance with such a request that we undertook the work, but I can find no record in writing of how it came about."

"*May* 31, 1892.

"We had our interview this morning with the Bishop of Salisbury, and I am thankful to say that I think I see some light out of our difficulties without abandonment of any principle on our part. We are, God willing, to have a further conference on the 1st of July, when I trust we may be able to complete that portion of the revision work—viz., the 'Ordinaries' or Communion Offices—which was under our consideration to-day."

Concerning this interview with the Bishop of Salisbury, a touching little incident occurred. At its close the Archbishop said to Canon Meyrick, "When we were discussing that point with the bishop I was praying so earnestly that his heart might be moved."

The story of the work for the Italian Reformed Church must now be left for Canon Meyrick to tell. He writes:

"Lord Plunket's experiences in Connemara led him to take a special interest in the prospect of a reform on the Continent. His attention having been caught by the result of the first Conference of Bonn, held in 1874 by members of the Old Catholic, Anglican, and Oriental Churches, he took care to be present at the Conference of 1875. He was not yet a bishop, and he did not take any very leading part in the discussions of that Conference, but what he then saw and heard made an impression on him which was never effaced. He learnt to love and reverence Dr. von Döllinger, the president of the Conference, and his heart burned within him at the hope and prospect of embracing as brethren in the faith such noble men as Döllinger, Reinkens, Reusch, Knoodt, Friedrich, Von

Schulte, Herzog, as well as Kiréeff, Janyscheff, Ossinin, Lycurgus, Damalas, whom, to his joy, he found not only ready to protest against the errors, new and old, of Rome, but also inspired with a genuine love of Christ and an earnest zeal for Evangelical truth. His own words, spoken next year at the Plymouth Church Congress, show how much he was moved:

"'The Bonn Conference, regarded simply as an outgoing of Christian love and courage, must command the sympathies of all. It was a bold thought to strike aloud the half-forgotten keynote of unity in the ears of a divided Christendom, and there is not one of us, I feel sure, who does not honour the brave Döllinger and the large-hearted Reinkens for having made the noble venture. . . .

"'That which supplies the most conclusive answer to all the misgivings which have troubled myself or, so far as I know, perplexed others respecting the expediency and practicability of the effort represented by the Bonn Conference is to be found, as I believe, not so much in elaborate arguments as in the realisation of the idea of unity pictured to us in that Conference itself. That picture I was myself privileged to witness. It is one that I can never forget.

"'Even now, as I recall to my own mind that little room in the University of Bonn, and those who were gathered together there last year; as I seem to see again, conspicuous amongst all, the marvellous Döllinger, that old man eloquent, with keen glance and playful smile, and busy brain still aglow with quenchless fire of youth; as Reinkens too stands again before me, the chosen bishop of his people, with manly loving face, true reflex of the heart within,

not speaking many words, but those words always wise and true; and Lycurgus of Syra, the gentle archbishop, always on the side of peace, since called away to dwell where peace reigns supreme; as I seem to hear again the two lay professors of theology, Ossinin of St. Petersburg and Damalas of Athens, arguing their case with such rare dialectical skill and true Christian temper; and as around these central figures I behold the representatives of almost every leading form of Christianity, summoned together from the farthest corners of the earth, Episcopalians and non-Episcopalians, laymen and clerics, all taking counsel together in a spirit of loving confederation and worshipping God together in a spirit of loving intercommunion; when I remember, too, how good and pleasant and profitable a thing I found it myself to meet in frank and friendly intercourse brethren of my own communion with whom as theologians I can never expect to be mind to mind, but with whom as Christians I may hope long to continue heart to heart: when, I say, I recall that scene in Bonn, with all its associations, a thousand otherwise formidable difficulties vanish before the retrospect, as chaff before the wind; the battle of unity seems to be half won, the possibility of union on a wide basis and with practical results seems to me to be well-nigh demonstrated by the inexorable logic of facts. Only let the movement preserve in the future those comprehensive features which marked that scene in Bonn, let it never allow itself to dwindle down to narrow or sectarian dimensions, and it cannot come to nought. Even should some untoward complications

mar the prospect of the present special effort, the yearning which it has awakened in many hearts will not easily die out. Those who are now searching for unity may fail to find the particular treasure for which they dig, but if in the process of searching they break up and soften the hard soil of prejudice and bigotry, they will, with God's help, gain their end at last in an unexpected but not less real form. Yes! a desire for unity is not something of the earth earthy; it is a reflection, even in broken and wavering image, of the wish which formed our Saviour's parting prayer. In one way or another it will have His blessing.'

"Italy was not represented at the Bonn Conferences. Ten years before the Vatican Council was held, while German theologians still thought that Roman arrogance was a thing that must be endured in patience, Italy had raised the cry of reform. From the northern extremity of the Peninsula to the southern—in Turin, where Passaglia had headed 9000 priests in protesting against the temporal power and had been duly excommunicated; in Milan, where ninety-three clergy had combined in what the Jesuit organ, the *Civiltà Cattolica*, called 'a scandalous, schismatical, and revolutionary society, guilty of rebelling against the Pope and the Holy Roman See'; in Bergamo, near which the patriotic old nobleman, Ottavio Tasca, was exerting an active influence; in Brescia, where Canon Tiboni was pleading for the permissive use of the Bible; in Florence, where Signor Bianciardi had established the *Esaminatore* newspaper; in Rome, where Canon Audisio and Monsignore Liverani were advocating reform, though with bated breath; in Naples, where the powerful *Società Emancipatrice* had been formed, and where Cardinal Andrea defied the Pope in the name of the Catholic Episcopate until he was taken off by a sudden death brought about, as was supposed, by poison during a visit to Rome; in Messina,

where a society, similar in its objects to that at Naples, had been instituted to restore the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Italian Church to their primitive purity—everywhere there was a call for deliverance of the national Church from the Papal sway. But Ricasoli had succeeded Cavour as Prime Minister, and though his sympathies were with the reformers, he was rather an Italian politician than a statesman or Churchman. In 1866 he inaugurated a policy of reconciliation with the Papacy, and permitted the Pope to nominate bishops for the many vacant Italian sees.* The result was that in every corner of Italy reformers had the choice put before them of starvation or silent conformity. Thus it was that, when the German movement took place in 1871, the Italians stood sullenly aloof, as men who had made their effort and failed and suffered for their attempt. The time of the second phase of the Italian movement had not yet come.

"Already Lord Plunket's eyes were being turned towards Italy. Dr. Nevin, the American chaplain in Rome, had been at Bonn, and he invited Lord Plunket to preach one of the sermons at the consecration of the new American church just built in Rome, called 'St. Paul's within the Walls,' in contradistinction to the well-known basilica, 'St. Paul's without the Walls.' The consecration took place on January 25, 1876, and the preachers on the occasion were the Bishop of Long Island (Dr. Littlejohn), the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Magee, afterwards Archbishop of York), the Bishop of Gibraltar (Dr. Sandford), Lord Plunket (the future Bishop of Meath and Archbishop of Dublin), Dr. H. C. Potter (the present Bishop of New York), the Rev. Stopford Brooke (in place of Dr. Howson, Dean of Chester), and Dr. Nevin (the chaplain). Lord Plunket took for his subject Catholic unity, and for his text 'One God and Father of All' (Eph. iv. 6). In his sermon, beginning with a description of Truth as 'a statue which must be gone round about and surveyed from many points of view if we are to estimate its full proportions and

* About fifty sees were vacant.

appreciate its perfect loveliness,' he dwelt upon the many aspects in which the great truth of the Fatherhood of God may present itself to His children, and ended with an appeal on behalf of 'that grand effort for reunion among the separated Churches of Christendom which has found expression in the recent Conferences at Bonn, and which seems worthy to cast a sunset glory on the declining years of that noble theologian, Dr. Döllinger, by whom mainly it has been set on foot.' . . . 'I believe,' he continued, 'the attempt to be in the right direction, and that it will not lack a blessing from above. It has for its object the promotion of that unity within Christ's Catholic Church which ought, I think, to be so dear to every child of God, and therefore, as it seems to me, we ought from our hearts to wish it success.'

"In 1878 Lord Plunket's attention was again drawn to the Old Catholic reformation by the Lambeth Conference, which he attended now as Bishop of Meath. In that Conference he did not take any very active part, but his interest was deeply engaged by the discussion of the position which the Anglican Church should assume 'towards the Old Catholics and towards other persons on the Continent of Europe who have renounced their allegiance to the Church of Rome and who are desirous of forming some connection with the Anglican Church, either English or American.' He gladly welcomed the following declaration framed by a committee of the Conference and adopted by the Conference itself, the wording of which was mainly due to Bishop Christopher Wordsworth:

"'The fact that a solemn protest is raised in so many Churches and Christian communities throughout the world against the usurpations of the See of Rome and against the novel doctrines promulgated by its authority is a subject of thankfulness to Almighty God. All sympathy is due from the Anglican Church to the Churches and individuals protesting against these errors and labouring, it may be, under special difficulties from the assaults of unbelief as well as from the pretensions of Rome. . . . We gladly welcome every effort

for reform upon the model of the primitive Church. We do not demand a rigid uniformity. We deprecate needless divisions, but to those who are drawn to us in the endeavour to free themselves from the yoke of error and superstition we are ready to offer all help and such privileges as may be acceptable to them and are consistent with the maintenance of our own principles as enunciated in our formularies.'

"At the same time he witnessed and voted for the appointment of a permanent committee of the Conference 'for consideration of any definite case in which advice and assistance might from time to time be sought' by such Continental reformers, the committee to consist of the Archbishops of England and Ireland, the Bishop of London, the Primus of Scotland, the presiding Bishop in America, the Bishop superintending American congregations on the Continent, and the Bishop of Gibraltar. The action of this committee was at a later time very important for France, Spain, and Italy.

"Up to this time Lord Plunket's sympathies had been impartially bestowed on the cause of Continental reform and Evangelical religion, in whatever country the reformers might be found. But in the year 1879 his interest was for a time focussed on Spain. This arose first from the Spanish and Portuguese reformers having appealed to the Irish Church in case the Lambeth Conference was unwilling to provide them with a bishop, and secondly from a letter addressed to him by Dr. Noyes, at that time a beneficed clergyman in his diocese, in which he earnestly besought him as an Irish bishop to take up the cause of the Spanish and Portuguese reformers. The result was that for the next seven years such time and care as Lord Plunket could give to Christians outside his own diocese and country were directed mainly to the Spanish Peninsula. But nevertheless he kept himself in touch with the Italian and German and Swiss and Austrian and French movements by means of the Anglo-Continental Society, of which he was an active member, never failing to attend its committee meetings.

"In 1886 Italy became a special object of his care, owing to a personal appeal made to him by Count Henry di Campello.

"In 1881 Count Henry di Campello had given up his canonry at St. Peter's, and had withdrawn from the Roman communion, 'ceasing,' as he said, 'to be a papist in order to be the more catholic by holding the primitive faith in its fulness.' This was the signal for a second reform movement in Italy, the first having been crushed by Ricasoli's policy in 1866. Campello made application for spiritual support to the Anglican Church, and a formal licence recognising him and authorising him to act was issued to him in 1883 by Bishop Littlejohn, of Long Island, in his character of a bishop of the Church of God, with the solemn and warm approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury acting on behalf of the committee of the Lambeth Conference named above. In the same year Campello was joined by Monsignore Savarese, Paolo Panzani, and Filippo Cicchitti. Campello and Savarese being excommunicated by the Pope, a vigorous reply to the excommunication was returned, signed by the above four men, Savarese, Campello, Panzani, and Cicchitti. But Savarese had not sufficient courage and firmness for the post which he held. He began to fear loss of adequate support and the starvation which Signor Prota's followers in Naples had undergone in 1866. He therefore began to look back to Rome. Campello could no longer act with him, and, in great distress of mind, came to England for advice and and help in the crisis. He asked for counsel as to the conduct of his work in Italy, for help in the revision of the Italian liturgy, and for support for the reforming clergy. While he was in England Savarese recanted and was relegated to a monastery at Naples, where he may now be living, or may have passed away unnoticed. His place was for a moment taken at Rome by a Monsignore Renier, who soon proved himself unfit for the post. In these untoward circumstances the advice given to Campello was to leave Rome for the present and begin work at Arrone, in

Umbria, where his family was well known; he was also promised help in the revision of the liturgy; for material support he threw himself upon the charity of Lord Plunket. Lord Plunket, having fully convinced himself of the reality of the man, and having assured himself that the cause of his opposition to Papal error was his love of Evangelical truth, accepted his petition and took counsel with Miss M. A. Mayor and others as to the measures to be adopted. Miss Mayor was a pious and saintly lady, who, having been at Rome (where she formed a home for English art students and taught Italian models) at the time that Campello raised his protest against the Papacy, eagerly embraced the cause of reform and devoted herself to its advancement. She was at this time in England, and was co-operating with the Anglo-Continental Society, in connection with which she was forming a ladies' committee. With her help Lord Plunket gathered together a body of ladies, to which some men were added as consulters; and so there was formed an Italian Church Reform Committee, which soon afterwards took the title of the Italian Church Reform Association, which it still retains. Lord Plunket became its chairman and president, and it undertook the laborious task of finding funds to support the reforming clergy in Italy. It confined itself to this task, for Lord Plunket was of all men careful not to trespass on another's sphere, and it happened that about the same time, on the Bishop of Long Island giving up the spiritual superintendence of the reformed congregations in Italy, that superintendence was transferred by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Benson), still acting for the Lambeth Conference, to the Right Rev. John Wordsworth, Bishop of Salisbury, who undertook the office and has since exercised it. Archbishop Plunket (he was now Archbishop of Dublin) carefully preserved all his rights to the Bishop of Salisbury, and himself took the lower but most necessary office of providing funds.

"He showed the same delicacy in respect to the revision of the Italian liturgy for the use of the reformed community.

The first edition of this liturgy was prepared by Monsignore Savarese, a man of considerable liturgical knowledge, from the Roman missals, the funds for its publication being found by the Anglo-Continental Society. But this was only a tentative effort, enabling Italians, for the first time since they had been a nation, to hear and follow the service for the Holy Communion in their own language or in any language that they could understand. It was intended from the first that a second edition of this liturgy should be issued with corrections. When Savarese fell back into Romanism and was sent off to Naples by the Roman authorities, he carried with him all the copies of this liturgy that he could lay hands on. The result was that the proposed revision and the issue of the second edition of the book became at once necessary. The first person to whom Campello made application for aid in completing this revision was the secretary of the Anglo-Continental Society, Canon Meyrick, and when the Archbishop of Dublin took up the Italian cause in the way described above, a similar application was made to him. In consequence the Archbishop and Canon Meyrick met frequently at Old Connaught House, and bestowed much labour and time on the revision of the existing book and on the consideration of the forms proposed by Campello for the other parts of a Book of Common Prayer. But in this the Archbishop did not think his own authority to be final, however much the reformers might be materially beholden to him and whatever was his own position in the Church. As soon as he and Canon Meyrick and Campello had agreed on forms which they regarded as suitable, they were presented to the Bishop of Salisbury, as the Bishop appointed by the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lambeth Conference to supervise the Italian movement, and reconsidered in several meetings held in the Lollards' Tower of Lambeth Palace. Then they were recommended to Campello, and being approved by him, they were adopted by all the congregations of the community.

"Lord Plunket had no hesitation as to his duty as a bishop

of the Church of God to give help to faithful Christians in any part of Christendom who were suffering persecution for truth and righteousness' sake, when they summoned him to their aid. He had grasped the idea of the Catholic Episcopate, as expounded by Cyprian, which prevailed throughout the Church until it was superseded by the Papal theory, according to which every member of the Episcopal body is invested with the right and duty of defending the faith and the maintainers of the faith, whenever and wherever assailed—a right and duty which in ordinary cases is dormant, except in the limited sphere of a diocese, but which awakes into active life and has to be exercised and performed outside that area as soon as the need for it arises. Many British and Irish Churchmen had forgotten this salutary rule and principle of the primitive Church, owing to the isolation in which they had so long lived. Fortunately, Lord Plunket had the wisdom to apprehend and the courage to act upon it, and by so doing he vindicated for the Anglican bishops their rightful position in Christendom as part rulers of Christ's holy Catholic Church, and not merely office-bearers in a local institution, while at the same time he acted on the instincts of a warm and loving heart.

"From the time that he undertook the office of president of the Italian Association the Italian reformers held their place in Lord Plunket's mind and affections next to those of Spain. Every year he presided at the annual meeting of the association and gave an account of the progress that was being made. When he took up the cause of Italian reform in 1886 the leaders of the movement were Count Henry di Campello and his two lieutenants, and as they had lost their foothold in Rome owing to Monsignore Savarese's tergiversation, they had for the moment no congregations attached to them. At the time of his death in 1897 there were nine congregations—at Arrone, Terni, Castel-di-Lago, Papigno, San Remo, Ventimiglia, Dovadola, San Vito, San Angelo dei Lombardi—and there were clergy (ordained by Bishop Herzog) like Ugo Janni and Professor Cicchitti, who were capable of

defending the platform of the National Italian Church and of keeping up an able periodical as its organ, called the *Labaro*. With the growth of the clergy and congregations the difficulty of supporting them grew proportionately, for, with the exception of the clergy, the members of the community were almost all drawn from the peasant class. To meet this need, the Archbishop was not content with giving largely of his own substance, but he spent many weeks and months every year going from place to place in England and Ireland preaching sermons on their behalf; organising local committees, and appointing secretaries where an interest had been awakened; and he made appeals, on behalf of Italy as well as Spain, which were productive of the money needed at any critical moment through the confidence that was reposed in him.

"In the year before he died, at the annual meeting of the Italian Church Association, held on May 8, 1896, the Archbishop himself gave a sketch of his action by means of that association, as follows:

"'The association was formed just ten years ago, and for no purpose of aggressive propagandism, but rather to aid reformers who were carrying on mission work among their own countrymen. The cry had come from afar off, 'Come over and help us!' and this association had felt it its duty to respond to the appeal. I well remember the day when I first had an interview with Count Campello. I happened to be sojourning for a few days in London, and Count Campello called upon me unexpectedly, saying that he had heard of the help given by a society of which I was the president to aid the work of reform in Spain, and he was very anxious to know whether it was possible that that society could also take Italy under its wing. I told Count Campello that it was impossible for the

Spanish and Portuguese Society to help him, but that I would endeavour, with the help of the many friends interested in the Italian work, to form a separate association. Accordingly, in June or July of the year 1886 the Italian Association was formed; and it has ever since, God helping it, in the face of many discouragements, some difficulties, and occasional criticism, pursued its work. The association does not interfere with the control of the spiritual work of Count Campello's Church. Its object is to occupy the humble and yet very important position of furnishing means whereby he and the other reformers in Italy can have their own efforts supplemented by the aid which the association is able to convey.

"'With reference to Count Campello's own work, it is not altogether of an aggressive character. Count Campello has not found it his duty to create a need for reform; he has found that need among his fellow-countrymen, and it has been his duty to minister to it. The want was already existing, and it is now being supplied. The minds of certainly the majority of the Italian people are already alienated from the Church of Rome. They have found it impossible to believe the incredible dogmas that are promulgated through the Vatican decrees. Their sympathies have been alienated from a Church which has in a mad and suicidal manner placed itself in opposition to the aspirations of the people and thwarted their desires for the unity of their country. The result is that the real danger in Italy now is not so much a danger of erroneous doctrine alone as of infidelity. Amongst the Italians, however, there are many who still long

for some religion to take the place of Roman Catholicism, which they have cast from their hearts; and so what the reformers in Italy are now doing is to try to settle the people on the only secure foundation of religion in place of that which is crumbling away beneath their feet. As the result of Count Campello's work there are at the present time nine congregations, besides many mission stations where there are to be found groups of anxious inquirers and Bible readers, who it is expected will in course of time form for themselves separate congregations.'

"On the same occasion he narrated the manner in which the necessary funds were collected for the establishment of a new congregation in Italy, which may serve to show how valuable his superintendence of the work was. The population of the village of San Vito sent a deputation to Count Henry di Campello, earnestly beseeching him to send them a clergyman. But Campello had long since given up all his personal income for the Gospel's sake, and he had not wherewith to meet the necessary expenses. He wrote to the Italian Association, but they were already £200 in debt.

"'Just at this moment,' said the Archbishop, 'while I was in the very depths of despair over the matter, I received, quite unexpectedly, a letter from a godly Irish layman with a cheque enclosed for £200, to be used for the support of the work either in Spain or Portugal, or for any kindred object that I might think fit. Accordingly, I thought it my duty under the circumstances to apply it to the work in Italy, having obtained the donor's sanction for so doing.'

"At the same time he made a special appeal, which resulted in the almost immediate collection of £500 more. This enabled Campello to visit the district of San Vito, and on finding 'a craving for something more in the way of spiritual nourishment than the people had hitherto been able to obtain

within the Church of Rome,' to establish a branch of the Reformed Church there. Without Lord Plunket's aid these villagers would have no doubt fallen back into the religious indifference which, not through their own fault, characterises so many Italians, who do not see their way to anything better than the Papal Church, in whose claims they cannot acquiesce.

"San Vito and the neighbouring town of San Angelo dei Lombardi were the last two stations occupied in the Archbishop's lifetime; the first entered upon after he had taken up the cause was Arrone. The reason for selecting Arrone as the central point of the work, after Rome had been lost through Monsignore Savarese's unsteadiness,* was that it was situated in the midst of the hereditary possessions of the Campello family. Conte Enrico was well known there, and looked up to with something of a feudal respect. Arrone is a town of about 1200 people. Campello began by fitting up a room in his own house for a chapel, holding about 300 persons, which was soon filled. At the end of two years the first stone of a church was laid. 'How the church is wanted! urgently wanted! and wanted now for present needs!' wrote Dr. Robertson in 1889. In the next year, 1890, it was opened and consecrated by Bishop Herzog, on September 27. 'The erection of this church has been a labour of love, but it has been a labour, and for it the Catholic reformers of Italy have, above all, to be grateful to the Archbishop of Dublin and to Miss Mayor, who have shown an extraordinary amount of zeal and perseverance in collecting the necessary funds for the large expenditure involved in the work.'† They had also to be thankful to Bishop Herzog for the brotherly interest which made him travel from Berne to consecrate the first national reformed church in Italy, and to preside at the first Synod of the Church held on the occasion of the consecration, thus identifying and, so far, welding together the Latin and the Teutonic reforming movements.

* Count Henry di Campello had held services in Rome for four years.

† Report of the Anglo-Continental Society for 1890.

Evening schools and an association of 'public assistants,' numbering 192 members, to help in sick houses, were added to the organisation at Arrone in 1895; and in 1896, at the last annual meeting at which the Archbishop presided, a cheque for £400 was put into the chairman's hands by a lady for the erection of a hospital in Arrone for the benefit of the neighbourhood. This hospital has now been built.

"The first offshoot from Arrone which took root at a distant spot was the congregation of San Remo. Early in 1889 Campello, with his young lieutenant, Ugo Janni, at that time not ordained, and having before him the prospect of a successful career at the bar if he chose to adopt that life, proceeded to San Remo on invitation, and there addressed two large meetings held in the theatre. The result was the institution of a congregation, which since that time Ugo Janni, ordained by Bishop Herzog, has served, and which has thrown out two offshoots of its own at Ventimiglia and at Oneglia. The high opinion entertained by the Archbishop in regard to Signor Janni is shown by his having asked him, as well as Campello, to Madrid in 1892, to be present with Irish, English, French, and Spanish sympathisers at the proposed consecration of the church in that city which is served by Bishop Cabrera. Signor Janni has been Campello's right hand not only through his earnest piety and his ability to speak with power, but also as editor of the *Labaro*, the organ of the party in Italy and an organ of great excellence for ability, learning, and temper. Signor Janni accompanied Campello to England in 1897, and spoke with great effect at the conference of the Anglo-Continental Society, held in the Church House, Westminster, in July of that year.

"The institution of two other congregations greatly interested the Archbishop—at Papigno and at Dovadola. The Papigno congregation seemed to originate from a chance visit to the church at Arrone made by some of the artisans living in Papigno in 1895. Having for the first time heard public prayer in their own language and an eloquent sermon, which

appealed both to their understanding and to their emotions, they sent a message begging that they too might 'hear the good news of the Gospel.' 'This,' said the Archbishop, 'is to my mind a most significant fact. It bears witness to that craving in the minds of those poor people for something more in the way of spiritual food than they had hitherto received at the hands of the Church of Rome.' Campello paid them a visit, and found an earnest desire for regular ministrations. But where were the funds to come from? The Archbishop made an appeal, and obtained £150 from Ireland and £100 from England. The next year he was able to announce 'that Papigno has now its own pastor and its stated services, and numbers no less than forty-four regular communicants, even already, on its list.'

"The Dovadola congregation became attached to the National Reformed Church in a still more singular manner. Signor Bruni is a man who was educated in the Papal seminary of Vicenza, and passed through the minor orders with a view to ordination. But when he had reached the age of eighteen years he found that he could not accept the doctrines of the Roman Church, and he occupied himself as a secular teacher for the next five years. But, dissatisfied with this life, he opened his heart to Cardinal Agostino, Patriarch of Venice, and was by him persuaded to renew his purpose of ordination. November 4, 1886, was fixed for the ceremony, but about six weeks before that date, passing an Evangelical church, he went in and heard a sermon on the text, 'For by one offering He hath perfected for ever those that are sanctified . . . there is no more offering for sin' (Heb. x. 14–18). 'My eyes,' he said, 'were opened. I saw that one unrenewable sacrifice had been made for sin, and here was I trying to make myself a priest, so as to renew that sacrifice every morning.' He hurried to the Cardinal and told him that he could not be a Roman priest. The Cardinal wept over his resolve, but could not change it. For the seven next months he occupied himself in teaching the Bible in the Industrial

Home for Boys at Venice, and then he returned to his native place and began to preach. At the instigation of the parish priest his father turned him out of his house, and he suffered violent persecution in patience, living for a week in a hay-loft reached by a ladder, which he drew up at night, and when assaulted refusing to prosecute. In 1890 he attached himself to the Episcopal Methodists, but, not satisfied with their status, he made application to Campello, as Bishop-elect, and after examination was accepted by him. In 1896 he was ordained by Bishop Herzog, and his whole congregation has followed his example by joining, with him, the National Catholic Church.

"The Archbishop, giving in 1895 a sympathetic account of the work being done at Arrone and the neighbouring villages, and at Papigno and at San Remo, impressed upon his hearers 'the short space in which all this had taken place.'

"'Of course,' he continued, 'it may seem to some of us a weary waiting time, but by those who may hereafter have to recall the history of this work the fact that within nine or ten years no less than seven organised congregations [next year he was able to add two more to the list] besides mission stations, have been gathered together under the leadership of such a reformer as Count Campello, to my mind will be looked upon as a token of very striking and rapid success.'

"A point on which the Archbishop was very anxious was the establishment of a reformed Episcopate in Italy. He felt very keenly 'the absolute necessity of ultimately giving to this movement that Episcopal character for which it has always been intended to seek—a necessity becoming more and more urgent every day.' In 1893 Canon Thornton took up this question with great earnestness and collected some £600, to which the Archbishop undertook to add £100, and the Bishop of Salisbury under certain conditions offered a similar sum. On the death of the Archbishop both the Anglo-Continental Society and the Italian Church Reform Association opened subscriptions for the same object in memory of him, and there

has thus been collected about £325 more. There was nothing in connection with Italy nearer to the Archbishop's heart than raising the fund to an amount adequate for the support of an Italian bishop who should not be subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome nor be committed to Papal errors, and he believed that the completion of the due organisation of a Church was necessary for the success and maintenance of the work of reform."

CHAPTER XX

THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF DUBLIN

IN dealing with Lord Plunket's work as Archbishop of Dublin it is a great assistance to be able to quote at length a valuable paper which has been contributed by Archdeacon Scott, Rector of Bray, County Wicklow, a close personal friend of the Archbishop and a true *oculus episcopi*. Of a somewhat different ecclesiastical school of thought—for he has sometimes been described as the leader of the High Church party in the Church of Ireland—he was absolutely faithful to Lord Plunket, and, besides being the Archbishop's right hand at ordination seasons and on other important occasions, he appreciated to the full that beauty of holiness, that sweetness of disposition, and that untiring zeal with which his new ecclesiastical superior was endowed.

But before entering upon the Archdeacon's paper it will be of interest to notice how acceptable Lord Plunket's appointment proved to both the clerical and lay element in Ireland. He was the obvious man for the post, for many of the same reasons which fitted him to undertake the Bishopric of Meath. But it is not always that the "obvious man" is so universally

approved as was the new Archbishop. Here are some of the letters he received on the occasion :

[*From the Primate of Ireland* (*Dr. Beresford*).]

"THE PALACE, ARMAGH,

"*Dec.* 19, 1884.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"The Bishop of Limerick having declared to me that you have been elected to the Archbishopric of Dublin, I am, under the directions of Dr. Ball, transmitting your name to the bench of bishops in order that the necessary steps may be taken to give effect to such nomination. It will then be my duty to write to the Sub-Dean of Christ Church to have you enthroned.

"Having given this notice officially, allow me to express the gratification your election has given me, and to wish you many years of a happy and useful archiepiscopate. It is rather a curious coincidence that the two Irish Archbishops' grandfathers were both Bushes, and very near relations. I shall shortly have to ask you to aid me in the consecration of your successor to the See of Meath.

"Most truly yours,

"M. G. ARMAGH."

[*From the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*]

Private.]

"VICEREGAL LODGE, DUBLIN,

"*Jan.* 7, 1885.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"As I am writing to you on business, I venture to add a private note to express to you my gratification at your having been selected to fill the important post in the Church which Archbishop Trench so long held.

"I have always had great admiration for the high character of Dr. Trench, and for the dignity with which he carried out his high functions.

"During the years when I first came to Ireland, which were of such momentous import to the Church and when feeling ran so very high, I had much to be grateful to him for, and shall not forget his bearing towards me in society and on various occasions when it was my duty to see him on public business.

"I am sure that you will be a worthy successor to him, and I hope you will allow me very sincerely to express my good wishes to you in the responsible position to which you have been called.

"Yours truly,

"SPENCER."

[*From Lord Powerscourt.*]

"65 BROOK STREET, W.,
"*Nov.* 24, 1884.

"MY DEAR PLUNKET,

"Much as I deplore the occasion when we are to lose the valuable counsels of the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Trench, I must write a line to say how much I hope that you will be chosen as his successor. Any one must have admired the courage and energy with which Dr. Trench steered us through a most difficult and dangerous time. I respect him as much as any one can, and regret most sincerely the cause which will lose him to us. But at the same time I must say that, now that we are a purely Irish Church, and must look out for the best Irishman we can to lead us, there is no man on whom the mantle would so well fall as on yourself. Your social position, and the wise moderation which has been given to you, marks you out as the one we wish to see as the head of the diocese of Dublin. I don't wish to refer too much to the words of Dean

Swift, but I do think that 'it is a blessing to the Irish Church that we still have Irishmen who will keep pure doctrine and be in harmony with the feelings of Irish Protestants,' to govern the affairs of our Church.

"Yours very sincerely,

"POWERSCOURT."

A charming letter of congratulation was also received from Dr. Alexander, Bishop of Derry, now the Archbishop of Armagh. The letter was intended for publication in this place, but unfortunately has been lost in the post.

As will be gathered from the foregoing letters, Lord Plunket had no easy task in following a man so eminent and so beloved as Archbishop Trench. At the same time, the complete contrast between the two made comparison impossible, and the practical common-sense and constructive genius of the new Archbishop enabled him to complement the work of his predecessor in many ways. Mr. W. G. Brooke tells of Lord Plunket's touching wish to be the first to inform Dr. Trench of his own election as his successor in the following words:

"When his (Lord Plunket's) election to the Archbishopric was declared in Synod, the writer and another warm friend jumped on a car to bear him the news. He was not at home. We searched the clubs, but without success. Subsequently it transpired that he had gone first to his own mother to acquaint her, and then to Dr. Trench, who had retired, to ask for his sympathy and blessing, though generally, and during the revision period in particular, he was in strong opposition to the conservative policy of the Archbishop. Dr. Trench said

afterwards, 'Well, at all events, in Lord Plunket my diocese has secured a Christian gentleman.'"

It was not likely perhaps that the aged ecclesiastic would understand the line taken in Church matters by Lord Plunket, but there were many who were fully aware that his devotion and untiring zeal, his knowledge of men and ready grasp of a subject, made him something more than merely a Christian gentleman, though he was also all that those two words describe in their fullest meaning.

Perfectly simply and humbly, although thoroughly conscious of the great honour that had been paid him, Lord Plunket accepted the call which thus came to him from the Synod of the Church of Ireland, and for the remainder of his life filled not only his accustomed place as an Irish nobleman and country gentleman, but also the still more dignified and responsible position of Archbishop of Dublin. Of the former of these it will be necessary to speak in a separate chapter, when describing his life at Old Connaught; of the latter Archdeacon Scott gives the following account:

"The resignation of Archbishop Trench in 1884 left the Southern Primacy vacant. The clearly expressed will of both clergy and people in the united dioceses of Dublin, Glendalough, and Kildare called the Bishop of Meath to assume that dignity. Lord Plunket felt deeply the solemnity of the charge and the difficulty of filling the place of a prelate whose eminence in learning and literature had been sealed by a world-wide reputation, and whose kindness and fatherly sympathy had won for him the affection of his clergy.

"The writer will never forget a touching scene when the Archbishop-elect came to receive the assurance of glad hope with which Archbishop Trench saw the burden, too great for his failing strength, laid upon one whose singleness of aim and devotion to the cause of Christ and of His Church bespoke a holy and happy fulfilment of the duties of a Primate in the Bishopric of Souls.

"The interview was saddened by the tokens felt by both of the shortness and feebleness of the life that was ebbing away, but both were full of memories of past friendship, and of hope that God, who had signified plainly His will in the choice of the worker, would not fail to bestow His blessing on the work.

"Lord Plunket at the first made careful inquiry into the uses of diocesan administration under his predecessor, and laid aside his own methods, framed for a country diocese, to adopt, with few modifications, the practices which had ruled the work in Dublin since the Church had been set free from her connection with the State. He made it his special study to show himself the head, not of any section within the diocese, but of the whole flock. He left no room for suspicion that he had favourites, or that he was secretly moved in his administration by any party or individuals. In his annual visitations his care was to recognise all honest labour and zeal for God and for the winning of souls. He did not concern himself to seek ground of censure in the methods of parochial work in cures in which he found that the purpose which animated the work was frank, honest, and holy, and that the lines of ministration adopted were not inconsistent with a generous interpretation of the spirit with which he (the Archbishop) believed the laws of the Church to be infused.

"Apart from the exercise of episcopal responsibility, Lord Plunket held his private convictions, took pleasure in declaring them, and desired to bring others to see things with his eyes.

"In earlier days, when the synodical constitution of the Church of Ireland was framed, and during the debates about the revision of the Prayer-book, he adhered to his own con-

scientious views, and acted independently of factious combinations, earnestly striving to mould the Prayer-book into close conformity with his own ideas. But in his office as Archbishop, and in the application of the canons and rubrics to questions or complaints laid before him, he loyally took his stand on the law as expounded by his official advisers, and not upon his own convictions as to the duties to which the clergy ought to be bound.

"He would cheerfully give permission for variation or shortening of the services so far as he believed his powers as bishop to reach, being careful for spiritual efficiency above all things, and ready rather to stretch than to tighten the limits of form.

"His ready sympathy with reasonable requests was shown by his expenditure of time and strength in lending the weight of his presence and personal co-operation to all kinds of acts or ceremonies or enterprises honestly designed for the good of the Church or the fostering of charitable institutions or designs. His more intimate friends would have often been glad to persuade him to pay more regard to prudent economy of his powers of usefulness, which they longed to preserve.

"Some narrower hearts were unable to understand the large compass of his interest in other men's plans. Strict purists in questions on the financial side of good works were startled when the Archbishop openly commended the resort to bazaars, including raffles, and other popular devices for gathering in money.

"Zealous Churchmen, who regarded with reverence ancient traditions, were pained when Lord Plunket declined to prohibit evening Communions as a means of gathering in those who had dropped out of attendance at the Lord's Supper. They were not satisfied by his reply that he required that those who adopted this practice should show that there were many in the congregation whose attendance could not be gained by any other means.

"But, while on different sides men of strong convictions were dissatisfied that Lord Plunket was liberal to others whom they would have repressed, all freely owned that his large heart responded to all earnest endeavour, and each in turn felt that he could freely bring his own plans and wishes before the Archbishop, and find him cordial in the expression of his approval and glad to give assistance to the utmost limits of the law as he understood it. No one could fail to see his grief when he felt it right to impose restrictions on any well-meant plans, even when those plans were framed on lines not to his personal liking.

"The largeness of his sympathies was not confined by the limits of his diocesan duties, and other chapters of this book tell of the extreme self-denial with which he laboured at tasks undertaken for the good of the whole Church of Ireland, and for the whole welfare of the country which he loved with a passion of patriotism.

"The history of the foundation of the Church of Ireland Training College . . . would record how much of the vital force of Lord Plunket had gone to frame the constitution of the college, to shape its buildings, and provide its funds.

"In the days of his episcopate schemes of Home Rule were in the air which would have doomed Ireland, as he foresaw, to financial bankruptcy, and would have made her fertile plains the battleground of England's wars, and his great speech was one of the most powerful and convincing of all the remonstrances that burst out in that critical time from indignant and patriotic hearts.

* * * * *

"In this sketch of Lord Plunket as Archbishop of Dublin it will be enough to give some record of the manner in which his episcopal duties were performed. Among these the most conspicuous features were the regular course of visitations of the clergy, of confirmations, and of ordinations.

"One marked characteristic of Lord Plunket's public services was the dignity and reverence of his manner on all more solemn occasions. He was childlike in his private intercourse in seasons of recreation, quick to join in harmless mirth and to appreciate early essays at poetry or art, but he was stately and fervent in directly religious ceremonies. His tall and lithe figure and his clear and tuneful voice added considerable grace to his performance of religious functions.

"In his visitations he disliked the ancient usage of holding the court within the railings of the sanctuary, while the clergy waiting their turn were tempted to enter into conversations, allowing the hum of tongues to sound through the cathedral.

"Lord Plunket had his throne moved first into the eastern chapel, and then into the chapter-room, where the details of the work and the needs of the parishes might be more fitly discussed than in the more holy precincts.

"The share of the laity in the priesthood of the Church of Christ was one of the features of the doctrine of the Anglican Communion upon which Lord Plunket laid great stress. He felt especial pleasure in the synodical work of the Church of Ireland on account of the broad representative character of the assemblies, and the free opportunity which he found there for speaking out to the whole body of the diocese. His opening addresses at the annual Synod were full of zest. He loved to lay his thoughts bare to all, and strove to anticipate the subjects likely to raise discussion, and to make plain beforehand the principles which he believed to underlie the contentions on different sides. He tried to clear the way by setting aside any side issues which were needless or ill-grounded or implied a misunderstanding of Church polity or the letter of Church law.

"To this preference for the wider audience may be attributed the rarity of his visitation charges. The Synods and the visitations were held within a fortnight of one another. He

wished the whole body of the diocese to hear what he had to say, and did not care to burden the clergy with repetitions. He used the visitation mainly as a means of noting openly new works or improved methods in the better-worked parishes, and of leading on by gentle encouragement rather than by rebuke those who were behindhand in the scale of work done. He greatly encouraged all improvements in the dignity and beauty of the churches in the dioceses. He largely increased the number of churches in which the Holy Communion was celebrated every week or every fortnight, and in some cases even every month. He also, even in the case of the smaller parishes, pressed home the importance of week-day services of one kind or another in the parish church. He, further, delighted to see and foster the provision of parochial halls for the purposes of various good works.

"His confirmation tours were a source to Lord Plunket of great interest and pleasure. As years passed it was easy to trace in his addresses a growing conviction and confidence in the spiritual import of that ordinance and the fulness of the grace therein bestowed. He never spared himself in his loving and earnest efforts to win the attention of the candidates and leave in their hearts fruitful seeds of thought and deed. His ordinations were marked by the dignified solemnity which his voice and manner added to the impressive service. He made the time of the examination of the candidates an opportunity of addressing the young men at a daily office in the private chapel upon the blessedness and responsibility of the work to which they believed themselves to be called, and there was always evident in these addresses the result of a most careful preparation.

"Among his clergy he was a true father in God, entering into their difficulties, ready to go down to the more remote parishes to encourage any new parochial work, and to give the weight of his personal and official influence to draw out the co-operation of the people in any crisis requiring money. He would take the chair at parochial meetings, and solve by his

tactful resources misunderstandings or conflicts of ideas. In these efforts, as in the conduct of the councils and the Synods, he showed a singular power of gathering up by private inquiries beforehand the conflicting views and interests involved in the business on hand, and of marshalling them in his opening words in such form as would indicate some middle course on which general acquiescence might be gained.

"It is true that expectant speakers, who had prepared their own statement of their arguments and ideas, sometimes felt sore as they heard the chairman take up their points one by one and show how they might be met, and deputations who had come from a distance to state the claims of some charitable work found that the aspects of their subject on which they relied for awakening interest in their appeal had all been foreseen and sketched by the chairman in his opening address, so that the speech which followed lost the freshness it might have possessed had the points been newly suggested to the minds of the audience.

"In his personal intercourse with his clergy or with aggrieved laymen Lord Plunket's unfailing courtesy, patience, and consideration for the feelings of others won for him a wide-felt affection and gratitude such as few call out. Quick to give credit for honest intentions, and always reluctant to blame, he gradually obtained the abatement of abuses and the steady growth of useful work.

"On all sides he came short of giving perfect satisfaction, for his large-hearted toleration of divergent methods of work seemed to champions of their own convictions to savour of laxity. But he brought together men from widely separate poles, and made them feel that in his sympathy with all sides they found a link of union and a softening of prejudice.

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"But to his own clergy Lord Plunket was not so much the host as the father. When a clergyman was a prisoner in hospital, it was the Archbishop who went to sit beside him and

cheer him in his loneliness. When a clergyman or his family were in straitened circumstances, he was quick to aid out of his own purse. When one who dissented from the course which the Archbishop was urging in a matter of much concern to the Church had striven with warmth to convince the Synod that the Archbishop had been misled by erroneous counsel, and had fallen into unwonted imprudence and inconsistency of action, the speaker, loyal at heart to the Archbishop as well as to the Church, met Lord Plunket as he left the hall and was about to apologise, but was prevented from doing so by the hearty greeting, 'My dear friend, you know that if you were to flay me alive I could not be angry with you.'

"Most certainly, if gentleness, meekness, quickness to forgive, and tenderness for the feelings of others are the qualities which form a true shepherd of the flock of Christ, then the dioceses over which he presided found in Lord Plunket a chief pastor who cared for the flock and not for himself, and were called to learn in the simplest and most winning way to be followers of their Archbishop as he was of Christ."

The above description, written by one who knew Lord Plunket well and loved him much, but who did not see with him in all matters, is conspicuously faithful and graphic. It brings out his dignity, his devotion, his generosity in both heart and action, his absolute fairness, and his unbounded love for God and for his fellow men. It is also of interest as showing that his liberal-mindedness increased with increasing years, and that the narrower views of one party in the Church were gradually giving way to a wider appreciation of Church teaching. This fact is borne out by Canon Meyrick of Blickling, a close personal friend of Lord Plunket, who says that, when in later years he visited

the Archbishop in order to go through with him the proposed Prayer-book for one of the foreign reformed Churches, there was little sign of that extreme policy which had marked his dealings with the revision of the Prayer-book for the Church of Ireland in earlier years.

CHAPTER XXI

PARTY STRIFE IN DUBLIN

OF recent years no diocese in England has failed to know something of the troubles caused, for the most part conscientiously, by members of the ritualistic party. The Church of Ireland after her disestablishment so ordered her house that a minimum of such troubles were likely to happen and that a maximum of unity should be secured, as happily proved the case. At the same time, during the archiepiscopate of Lord Plunket there were certain matters relating to this vexed subject which occupied much of his time and which brought out many of his finest qualities.

The most notorious of all the difficulties of this kind with which he had to deal was that connected with the removal of the cross at St. Bartholomew's, Dublin. Canon Smith, the incumbent, was one of the most "advanced" of all Lord Plunket's clergy, and the trouble connected with this cross continued through many of the years during which he was Archbishop.

The 36th canon of the Church of Ireland reads as follows:

"There shall not be any cross, ornamental or otherwise, on the Communion Table, or on the covering

thereof, nor shall a cross be erected or depicted on the wall or other structure behind the Communion Table, in any of the churches or other places of worship of the Church of Ireland."

It is necessary to bear in mind the wording of this canon in order to explain Lord Plunket's action in condemning the cross while it stood over the Communion Table at St. Bartholomew's, and sanctioning it when moved to another position which was thought by the extreme Low Church party almost equally objectionable. It was just an instance of his extreme care as Archbishop to administer the law as he understood it without reference to his own private preferences. There was perhaps another reason which strengthened his action. Had he been able and willing (which he was not) to condemn the erection of the cross altogether, it might not impossibly have led to the clergy and congregation at St. Bartholomew's leaving the Church of Ireland and joining the Church of England, a course which Lord Plunket's statesmanlike mind would see that it was well to prevent if possible.

The history of this matter, which formed for years a burning question in the Church of Ireland, was as follows:

In 1888 Canon Smith wrote to the Archbishop and stated that he had been offered a cross for the Communion Table of his church, and that he wished to inform his Grace of the circumstances. In reply Lord Plunket wrote:

"THE PALACE, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN,
"*Feb.* 13, 1888.

"DEAR CANON SMITH,

"I appreciate the straightforward course you have pursued in writing to me as you have done. But your letter has caused me great perplexity—all the greater because of the regard which, as you know, I entertain towards yourself, and also because of my desire in all such matters to observe the widest possible rule of comprehension that the limits of the law will permit.

"But is that which you now propose to do within these limits? This is a serious question. As to its legality or illegality in the abstract I pronounce no opinion, nor can I expect my Chancellor to do so either, inasmuch as the question is one that might come before us in the Diocesan Court, but I am clear that the point at issue is a sufficiently doubtful one to compel me, pending some authoritative decision, to withhold my consent. Meanwhile, I must require you under Canon 40 [which provides that no change in structure, ornaments, &c., shall be made without the approval of the Bishop or Ordinary] to refrain for the present from introducing this brass cross among the ornaments of your church to which your letter refers. It will be for you to judge whether you will, or will not, avail yourself of the right of appeal given under the canon. You may come to the decision that the object which you have in view is not sufficiently a matter of conscience or importance to make such a course desirable. On the other hand, you may deem

it well that an authoritative decision should be sought for in a friendly spirit by all concerned. All I can say is that in the latter event I should not consider an appeal on your part as indicating anything like antagonism towards myself, and should the Diocesan or (in the event of a further appeal) the higher Court decide in your favour, I would, of course, readily give the consent which I now feel bound to withhold. Upon the other hand, should any such appeal be unsuccessful, I have every confidence that, while reserving your right to strive for the repeal of a canon which you might still deem unreasonable or vexatious, you would loyally obey that which for the time being was the law.

"I have only to add that I have written this letter with feelings of undiminished goodwill towards yourself, but with a clear conviction that in the interests of peace and order I have no other course to pursue.

"Believe me yours sincerely,

"PLUNKET DUBLIN."

Canon Smith at once bowed to the authority of his Bishop, and it is a pleasant task to record the happy relations of friendship on the one side and loyalty on the other which bound the two men together through the whole dispute. In this matter of obedience to episcopal authority the Church of Ireland, so often despised by her English sister, sets an example which the latter might condescend to follow with advantage.

The next letter from Lord Plunket expressed his

pleasure at the fact that Canon Smith had acceded to his request, and went on to say how much pained he was at standing in the way of his correspondent's desire.

In the course of this same letter he contends that if Canon 36 were possibly based on the fear that the cross in such a position might be invested with a superstitious significance or degraded to a superstitious use, that fear, though possibly exaggerated, cannot be attributed to disrespect for the emblem itself. He then adds, "To that canon I have never myself attached any great importance." That his real opinion went even further may be gathered from a speech by Canon Quarry, D.D., in the General Synod, 1893, in the course of which he used these words:

"I cannot see why antipathies exist with regard to this symbol [the cross], and I greatly regret, *with his Grace of Dublin*, that we should have a canon which seems to throw dirt upon it."

So matters seem to have remained for some little time, but afterwards there was a further development. At Canon Smith's request the Archbishop met him, and they examined St. Bartholomew's church together, and "found that there was very little space between the table and the eastern wall." They then arranged that the cross should be placed as far from the Communion Table as possible; and it was placed, with Lord Plunket's concurrence, in the position hereafter described.

The immediate result of this was an action brought in the Diocesan Court of Dublin by a certain Colonel

Grant against the incumbent, curate, and churchwardens of St. Bartholomew's, to try to obtain an order for the removal of the cross.

The Archbishop presided, and the Chancellor of the diocese (Dr. Ball) sat as his assessor. The other members of the Court were Dr. Dickinson, Dean of the Chapel Royal, and Lord Justice Fitzgibbon. This Court found that :

"1. The cross mentioned was not on the Communion Table or on the covering thereof, and it did not either actually or apparently rest on the Communion Table.

"2. That it stood upon a movable wooden stand which rested on the floor, and that it was 6 inches distant both from the Communion Table and from the reredos.

"3. That the position occupied had been approved both by the incumbent and vestry of St. Bartholomew's and by the Archbishop."

The appeal was therefore dismissed.

The above finding shows that Lord Plunket had given his approval to the position of the cross between the altar and the reredos. When the history of his early years is remembered, both in the Irish Church missions and in the matter of Prayer-book revision, this fact will be seen to afford evidence of a greater liberality of mind, as well as of his earnest endeavour to make his decisions as Archbishop in exact accordance with law and absolutely impartial.

Colonel Grant, being dissatisfied with this decision, appealed to the Court of General Synod, and in November 1892, three months after the judgment

delivered by the Diocesan Court, he obtained a decision in his favour by a majority of five to two. Those who declared the position of the cross to be illegal were the Bishop of Cashel and Messrs. Justices Holmes, Murphy, Monroe, and Gibson. The minority consisted of the Primate (Dr. Knox) and the Bishop of Derry (Dr. Alexander).

After this decision the cross was removed from the position it had previously occupied, and was placed *in front* of the Communion Table. This was a course that had probably never been contemplated when the canon was framed, and it was certainly well within the law. The Archbishop therefore gave his consent, and matters might well have been allowed to settle down upon this compromise.

But the more virulent members of the ultra-Protestant section of the Church of Ireland would not let things rest there. It was a source of much sorrow and vexation to Lord Plunket that in the General Synod of 1895 a resolution was brought forward by Canon O'Connor to amend Canon 36 by the following words: "Nor shall any cross be erected, depicted, placed, fixed, or suspended anywhere within the chancel or between the Communion Table and any of the people." In the course of the debate the Archbishop made the following short speech:

"I did not intend to say one word, had not one member of the Synod stated that the Archbishop of Dublin is altogether responsible for what has taken place. I rise to say that if I were placed in the same position again I should adopt exactly the same line.

I am not the least ashamed of what I have done, and I believe I should have acted in a very autocratic and intolerant manner if, when I was asked by the incumbent, with the full consent of the congregation, for permission to have a cross placed in a perfectly legal position, I had refused to comply with that request.

* * * * *

"I really do, as one who is as strongly Protestant as anyone who is desirous to pass this Bill, implore the members of the Synod not to vote for its passage."

It is satisfactory to record that, as he desired, the Bill was thrown out by a considerable majority.

The little speech quoted above is an instance of Lord Plunket's determination in carrying out any course which he had assured himself was right. It is sometimes thought that his pertinacity and firmness were all exercised on behalf of the party to which he was supposed to belong, but this speech and the attacks made upon him by the Protestant Defence Association, to which reference is made hereafter, entirely dispose of this idea.

Once more, in 1896, at the last Dublin Diocesan Synod over which Lord Plunket presided, the question was revived by a motion proposed by Canon Marrable, who, in urging that the General Synod should be again requested to take steps for the removal of the cross at St. Bartholomew's, ended by the remarkable statement that it was time for them to set their houses in order, since the second advent of our Lord was to be expected within a year and a half. Again this proposal of the

extreme Protestants was negatived by a large majority, and, so far as Lord Plunket had to do with it, the subject, which had been a cause of disquiet for eight years, was set at rest.

During the course of this famous controversy the Archbishop published his well-known pastoral, "Words for Peace," which was one of his most able efforts to obtain a brotherly agreement among Church people, and was welcomed by lovers of peace all over the world. There had been an unpleasant discussion at a Diocesan Synod (over which the Archbishop had been prevented from presiding by the death of Lady Plunket) concerning certain alleged violations of the law of the Church. Lord Plunket was desirous that his whole diocese, laity as well as clergy, should hear what he had to say and come under the influence, if possible, of his urgent plea for peace. The pastoral in question was the result of this desire, and it is such a noble document and created so widespread an interest that considerable extracts must be given here. He said:

* * * * *

"As I desire now to speak in the interests of godly union and concord, I know not at what better time my words could be uttered than during this present season, when Lenten thoughts of self-forgetfulness should prepare each one of us to sacrifice much, if necessary, for the sake of the common good. To avoid misapprehension, let me, at the outset, say that if I deem it expedient to notice the complaints made

at the meeting of the Dublin Synod—complaints by some of ritual innovation and by others of ritual neglect—it is not because I myself consider these charges or counter-charges as having in themselves any very grave significance. Nor is it, on the other hand, because I purpose to censure those by whom these allegations were made. . . .

"It was evidently as indications of what seemed to some a mischievous tendency, rather than as having any great importance of their own, that the irregularities in question were mainly alleged. . . .

"They who, on either side, have thought it their duty to adopt this course are well known to me as God-fearing, earnest men—impelled by no private interest or personal animosity, but simply by a desire to guard what they believe to be the principles on which our Church is based.

"Lastly, I take no serious exception to the spirit in which these respective pleas were urged. Bearing in mind the measure of heat which an outspoken expression of conflicting opinions must of necessity generate, I feel most thankful to believe that neither in the Synod nor since has anything taken place whereby the cause of peace and brotherly love amongst us can be said to have as yet suffered any real loss.

* * * * *

"While thus vindicating the good name of our diocese, and rejoicing that so far at least nothing has taken place to bring the law into disrepute or to disturb our peace, I cannot but feel that we are just

now confronted by a considerable difficulty, and that, if we cannot discover some way of escape, we may ere long find ourselves launched into a sea of troubles. . . .

"Mutual recriminations may gradually lead on to vexatious litigation, and that which is now only an insignificant spark may by-and-by kindle into a flame.

"Under such circumstances we have all a sacred duty to discharge. Forgetting a while our differences, whatever they may be, we must be united as brethren in a common desire and a common effort to avert that which, if not arrested, might prove a common disaster to all. Trivial indeed may seem to some of us the points at issue; but for that very reason the greater our fault and our shame if either through apathy or ungenerous party spirit we should allow them to become a source of real danger to our Church.

"What, then, is to be done? Is there any way whereby, without resort to hostile legislation, a respite from this mutual distrust and aspersion could be amicably brought about? This is a serious question for us all, but for myself as your Bishop it has a special import. I feel bound, therefore, God helping me, to face it, and will venture to suggest two courses the adoption of either of which would in my opinion solve the problem.

"In the first place, mutual recriminations might be terminated by *mutual sufferance*. They who have brought charges and they who have replied by counter-charges might alike resolve for peace sake to tolerate that of which they complain. This, I confess, was the

solution for which, when first these questions were raised, I fondly hoped. . . .

"Many, however, I have reason to know, would regard a policy of mutual toleration as holding out no promise of finality, and would therefore much prefer to seek for some more permanent solution of the present difficulty.

"In view of these facts, I now pass on to make my second suggestion—namely, that a cessation from mutual recrimination might be secured by *mutual submission to episcopal counsel.*

"By counsel I do not mean a pronouncement given by the Bishop in his Diocesan Court. . . .

"Nor, again, do I mean a minatory injunction or prohibition, disobedience to which would involve contumacy and its attendant penalty. . . .

"What I do mean by episcopal counsel is simply an extra-judicial expression of opinion on the part of the Bishop, conveying advice to his clergy (and in a certain sense to the lay members of his flock) as to what, in his judgment, ought to be done in reference to these disputed points—but not assuming that any of those whom he addresses are *wilfully* resisting the authority of the Church, and not threatening with censure any who, in certain cases, might ask leave to withhold compliance pending some more formal and decisive interpretation of the law."

These words of the Archbishop, which form part of the beginning of his pastoral, are surely such as may well be read and pondered by many of those who delight in posing as members of one or other of the

extreme parties in the Church. They are the words of a true shepherd, full of wisdom, gentleness, and guidance.

Lord Plunket then proceeded to deal in order with the various complaints which had been brought to his notice, mentioning first of all the burning subject of the cross and the holy Table. He stated that it was impossible to believe that at the present day the mere presence of a cross in a church or even as an appendage to the Communion Table could be regarded as furnishing a congregation with an incentive to idolatry. On the other hand, he deprecated earnestly all inconsiderate taunts, saying that when those who object to a cross on or behind the holy Table are described as casting discredit on the emblem of our common Christianity; when the Church of Ireland, because of the canon which she drew up on the subject, is held up by her own sons to contempt as the only Church in Christendom that is ashamed of this symbol of the atonement, surely no good end was served. Such reproaches he described as not only inconsiderate and unbrotherlike, but as indefensible on the grounds of reason or fact.

Having pointed out that the plain intention of the canon was to forbid the presence of a cross on the holy Table, &c., he said that in the interests of peace and brotherlike union he ventured to propose a solution of that problem to those who had it in their power without any intervention of the law to follow his advice. He was well aware that it was a solution which some on both sides would find it hard to accept. But he could not regard it as a solution

involving a sacrifice of principle, and if it were the means of averting strife it would, he thought, be well worth the cost.

The solution he proposed was that the canon should be interpreted in the *spirit* rather than in the *letter*. The letter of the law might be interpreted as forbidding a cross on any structure behind the Communion Table (as was the case at St. Bartholomew), but this would not in his opinion be according to the spirit of the canon, and he pleaded that, while those in favour of the existence of a cross in a church should be content not to place it on any structure *connected with* the Communion Table, those on the other side should not oppose its erection elsewhere within the building.

In much the same way he dealt with most of the disputed points, plainly pointing out the illegality of certain acts and urging with courtesy and gentleness their discontinuance.

Passing to the counter-charges of neglect, he again gives his counsel in most fatherly words. He strongly protested against any mutilation of the Baptismal, Matrimonial, or Burial Services, and more especially of the Communion Office. He called attention to the fourth canon, directing that services should be held on holy-days as well as on Sundays. On this subject his exact words must be quoted:

"It is evident that, just as daily service is contemplated by our Prayer-book as the ideal practice to be observed when it can be suitably had, so it is intended that, wherever no reason can be shown to the contrary,

divine service should be held on the holy-days referred to above. And when I remember that in so doing an opportunity is afforded to the pastor for impressing upon the minds and hearts of his flock the scriptural truths (derived from the teaching and example of our Blessed Lord and His Apostles) which the services appointed for those days are designed to recall, I cannot help desiring and hoping that the ideal contemplated by our Church may ere long find its fulfilment more generally throughout the diocese than is at present the case. . . . I gladly take this opportunity of urging upon the clergy of these churches their duty in this respect."

This portion of the pastoral caused considerable perturbation among the extreme Protestants, as did also his clear prohibition of the practice which obtained in some (though very few) churches of consuming the bread and wine which was left after Holy Communion in the vestry instead of at the Communion Table.

In proof of this it may be well to quote a passage from a letter from the Archbishop to his elder son, the present Lord Plunket:

"THE PALACE, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN,

"*Feb.* 21, 1890.

* * * * *

"I had an interview with —— [an extreme Low Churchman] yesterday about ritualism. I told him

that, as I had been pressed by his party to bring my influence to bear on members of the ritualistic party, I was drawing up a pastoral for that purpose. This pleased him much. But I added that in justice I felt bound to require obedience to canons all round, and that in my pastoral I intended to call upon all *his* party to keep the law as well, and I would expect him and his friends to give notice of holy-days and have more frequent services, &c. This alarmed him and excited him very much. Nothing would ever induce him to follow such injunctions; it would cause an explosion among his people, &c. &c. I pointed out that he was very exacting—and properly so—as to obedience to the law on the part of others, and that he could scarcely refuse to obey it himself. He seemed rather dumbfounded!"

The last words of the pastoral give the thought which guided his pen throughout:

"As servants of the same Master and members of the same Church, we have a glorious work awaiting us in this our native land, if only, united heart to heart by the ties of charity—that very bond of perfectness,—we rise up as one man and go forth to do it! May God enable us, in view of these common responsibilities and our common yearnings, to draw nearer together and do away with all needless divergencies. It is with an earnest desire to further, in ever so small a measure, this blessed result, that I have ventured to write this pastoral. God grant that it may not prove to have been written in vain!"

As may well be imagined, this famous pastoral brought to Lord Plunket scores of letters of congratulation and thanks from far and wide. Of these it will be sufficient to quote one :

"KILRYMONT, ST. ANDREWS,
"*April* 10, 1890.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

"I thank you sincerely for your kind attention in sending me a copy of your 'Words for Peace.' It is to be hoped that a pastoral address so fair and so affectionate, so calm and so judicious, cannot fail to produce the desired effect. It will not be to the credit of the parties concerned if it is not successful.

"I wish we could be equally hopeful in regard to the issue of the task which your brother Archbishop of Canterbury has now before him. But for many years past there has been so much connivance at lawlessness in the Church of England, that it may be feared the time is close at hand—if it be not already come—when 'nec mala nec remedia ferre potest'!

"I remember with pleasure our meeting on the way to Aberdeen in 1884, and it makes me feel an additional interest in all you undertake 'pro Deo et Ecclesiâ.'

"I am,
"My dear Lord Archbishop,
"Yours very faithfully,
"C. WORDSWORTH,
"Bp. of St. Andrews."

The newspapers (English as well as Irish) of the period were full of comments upon the pastoral. The *Irish Times* considered that the clergy and laity would be prepared to receive the Archbishop's admonition in the spirit in which it was offered, in the interests

of peace and brotherly love. That this expectation was not ill-founded is evidenced by a letter from Lord Plunket appearing in the same issue of that paper as the article upon the pastoral:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'IRISH TIMES.'

"SIR,

"It will, I am sure, be an encouragement to many if I state that, in response to my pastoral, I have already received communications from the one side and the other leading me to hope that the special form of agitation which it has been my object to avert is not now likely to recur.

"That there will be from time to time controversies—it may be heated controversies—respecting certain debatable questions which are fairly open to discussion in any really comprehensive Church, I have no doubt. But as regards those alleged violations of law and that prospect of litigation with which my pastoral has dealt, the present difficulty is, I trust, well-nigh overpast.

"I cannot lay down my pen without recording my obligation to those who, in deference to my counsels and for the sake of peace, have signified to me their readiness to make concessions calling for no little sacrifice of feeling on their parts and not, in their opinion, required by law.

"Yours faithfully,

"PLUNKET DUBLIN.

"*March* 28, 1890."

The *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, quoting the *Guardian*, makes the following comment:

"If the Archbishop is not over-sanguine, Irish Churchmen have set an example of respect for episcopal authority which might well be imitated on this side of St. George's Channel."

While treating of these matters, which to some extent disturbed the peace of the Church of Ireland, it is impossible altogether to pass over the fact that Lord Plunket was grievously pestered by members of the Protestant Defence Association and persons of similar views. The most gross example is contained in a small pamphlet, for which apparently the above association was not responsible, which is a reprint of four articles on ritualism in the Church of Ireland from the *English Churchman* and *St. James's Chronicle.* The language used about the Archbishop in these articles would usually be considered beneath contempt. The reason for even mentioning them here is that they are direct evidence of two things. First, they utterly refute the idea which is so firmly rooted in the minds of many English Churchmen that Lord Plunket was a "narrow Evangelical." Hear what one of these articles says:

"He [Lord Plunket] has ostentatiously presented himself as advising, consenting, and abetting in the attempts at innovation by the Ritualistic party; and with equal publicity he has exhibited himself as rejecting, rebuffing, and ridiculing the overtures of the Protestant upholders of the law of the Church."

This was, of course, utterly untrue: at the same time they are not words that would ever have been written

of a man who was merely a partisan of the Protestant set.

The other evidence afforded by the publication of these articles was of the Archbishop's meekness and imperturbability of temper. Few men would have condescended to notice such attacks. They drew from him an exceedingly courteous letter of explanation as to what had been described as an attack made by him on the Protestant Defence Association. He ends his letter with a reference to Mr. Fowler, then the chairman of that association, saying how fully he appreciated Mr. Fowler's kind words, which showed that, whatever he (Mr. Fowler) might have said in the heat of debate, he did not share in such a misinterpretation of the Archbishop's feelings as he (the Archbishop) disclaimed in this letter. Thus he turned angry feelings into a kindly channel, and once more did what lay ready to his hand towards the promotion of peace.

Considerable space has been given to these controversial subjects, but not more than is their due, considering the amount of Lord Plunket's time and attention which they occupied during the years in which he presided over the diocese of Dublin, and not more than they deserve when it is considered that throughout they show clearly his absolute impartiality, his skilful dealing with men, and, above all, his one overruling passion for peace and unity, so far as could be obtained without loss of principle. In no circumstances is it more difficult for a man to follow his Master faithfully than when dealing with the prejudices and heated animosities of his fellow-men, but this he

succeeded in doing by the great love for God that was in his heart. A follower of the Good Shepherd, he proved a tender, loving leader of his flock: when reviled, he reviled not again—seeking not his own things, or his own opinions, he set himself simply to do his Father's will.

CHAPTER XXII

DOMESTIC LIFE

IN the course of the two preceding chapters some attempt has been made to notice that portion of the Archbishop's life which had to do with his public capacity as head of the diocese of Dublin. Other matters have fallen into their place in previous portions of the book, either under the heading of "Unity" or "Education" or the "Church in Spain."

It remains now to make an effort to depict the more private life which he lived at the Palace in St. Stephen's Green and at his beautiful seat, Old Connaught, on the outskirts of Bray. Such a large portion of his brighter and happier days, and so large a part of his main interests (apart from his work), are connected with this latter place, that considerable space will be given hereafter to a description of this much-loved home of the Plunkets.

Lord and Lady Plunket had many "homes" in the course of their married life. At first, for a very short time, they lived in Upper Pembroke Street, Dublin, where the present Lord Plunket was born. Then they had a more permanent residence in Harcourt Street, and, when Bishop of Meath, besides the Palace at Ardbraccan, Lord Plunket had a town house, No. 12,

Earlsfort Terrace, which is now the Clergy Daughters' School.

Wherever he and Lady Plunket lived, there was a glow of loving-kindness and thought for others which was felt beyond the mere boundary of their dwelling. One very small instance of this may suffice. It is not every one who would like to have the entrance to their house cumbered by the presence of street hawkers, but on the high flight of steps of the Plunkets' Dublin house flower-girls with their baskets were invariably to be found. It was a *pied-à-terre* granted them by the kindness of Lady Plunket. This lady's goodness of heart was evident in many other ways. She never forgot her friends, and in spite of her own very bad health, she never lost an opportunity of doing a kindness. Her carriages and horses, for instance, were always at the disposal of those who were recovering from illness or to whom a drive would be a treat, and little delicacies were frequently sent, or brought by her own hand, to those whom she knew to be ill or in want. Just as Lord and Lady Plunket were ideal host and hostess at Ardbraccan, so, when in a yet more prominent and responsible position, their hospitality was enlarged and their consideration for their guests knew no bounds.

One correspondent writes :

"Many a poor clergyman or clergyman's wife has departed from the Palace or from Old Connaught cheered by being accompanied to the door by Lord Plunket, or by some other simple act of thoughtful courtesy."

Another writes :

"On one occasion, after discussing until long past midnight some important questions, his Grace accompanied me to my room, where the fire had not been lit. The Archbishop insisted on lighting it, and did not leave the room until he had fanned it into a warming flame. Then, and not till then, he rose from his knees and bade me a cheery 'Good-night.'"

The family party was, as may well be imagined, thoroughly affectionate and united. An Irish diocese is a very different matter from a diocese in England, and, while Lord Plunket would be busy at various meetings or appointments in the afternoon, he was mostly able to return to Old Connaught (if he was living there at the time) in time to spend a portion of the evening with wife and children. Then there were the occasional days, greatly looked forward to and appreciated by all, when he could take a complete holiday and give himself up to the many delights of his beautiful home. His mornings were almost invariably spent with his chaplain in wrestling with the vast pile of correspondence with which it never seemed possible successfully to cope. And this was not the only time he gave to such things, for, when all the house had gone to bed except himself, he would return to his writing-table and work till the early morning hours.

It was during the time of his archiepiscopate that two great trials befell him. Lady Plunket was, as has been said, an invalid for some years. In 1889 the decay of the nerve tissues from which she had suffered for so long became much more dangerous, and on November 8 she passed away at Old Connaught, in the beautiful bedroom which had always been hers, and from the windows of which a glorious view is obtained

across the wide stretch of the park over the far trees to where a belt of blue sea gleams in the distance and Bray Head rears itself up towards the south. The Archbishop had always been the most devoted of husbands, and the blow fell upon him with terrible force. The manner in which he bore this trial is an example of real Christianity, and could have only been possible for one whose religion was an absolute reality. Fortitude in trouble has been described as one of the great virtues displayed by Lord Plunket. His silent courage was wonderful. There was an occasion when he discovered that he had lost a very large sum of money. He never for one moment allowed the trouble—for trouble it was—to depress him. The infinitely greater losses of his best beloved were borne nobly too. He was never of an emotional temperament, and his griefs were for the most part locked in his own breast, but he possessed that "rebound," that power of rising from his trouble to meet cheerfully the duties and interests which lay in his path, which is given only to those whose faith enables them to live very near to the unseen world where so much of their treasure is hid with God. The following brief description of Lady Plunket's death and funeral is taken from a printed pamphlet containing an address delivered by Canon Wynne at her funeral, with a supplemental note by the Archbishop. The pamphlet is headed "A Succourer of Many," and proceeds as follows:

"Upon Friday, November 8, 1889, after a few weeks' illness —an interval marked by many alternating hopes and fears— Annie Lee Plunket, the wife of Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, was called to her rest.

"Upon the following Tuesday the funeral took place, and early that morning a large number of mourners assembled at Old Connaught House (near Bray), where Lady Plunket died. The room in which the coffin lay was crowded with floral offerings of the rarest kind, as well as with other simpler tributes to the memory of one who was held by many—rich and poor—in affectionate remembrance. When the cemetery at Mount Jerome was reached it was found that a concourse of some five thousand persons were already collected there—representing members of various classes and several religious denominations—and as the bier passed onwards to the chapel, preceded by the students of the Church of Ireland Training College and the Clergy Daughters' School, singing the beautiful hymn, 'My God, my Father, while I stray,' many and deep were the expressions of regret and sympathy that were heard on every side."

Canon Wynne in the course of his address referred to the strong religious impressions which Lady Plunket had received in her earliest youth from her father and mother. He described how when quite a young girl she held the first "mothers' meeting" ever known in Dublin, how she founded the Women's Work Association, and how generously and energetically she aided the cause of the Clergy Daughters' School. The very last time that Lady Plunket held a pen in her hand was when she was propped up in bed to enable her to endorse some cheques which been sent for this school in answer to an appeal from her. Canon Wynne told of two traits which were manifested during her last illness, and which were clear evidence of her love to God and to man. She never wearied of Bible reading, and never ceased to delight in prayer even when her weakness was most extreme.

At the same time she never failed to notice each loving friend who approached her, and to thank them with fond and grateful words for every little effort made to minister to her comfort.

The Archbishop supplemented the above by some further touching details. He wrote:

"I have before me a letter of sympathy from one of Lady Plunket's oldest and dearest friends—a lady who by her writings has herself done much to further the cause of Christ. I speak of Miss Alcock. . . . Writing to one of my family, Miss Alcock refers thus to a visit which she paid to Lady Plunket scarcely more than a year before her death:

"'Most precious is the remembrance of our last meeting, that one bright day little more than a year ago.

"'You all know how she *lived* for Christ, but I shall always remember how that day she *spoke* of Him, and the deep earnestness with which she said that she looked upon all she had as "simply gifts to be used for God." It is probable that you have already heard that when she was a very young girl, being prepared for confirmation by my dear father, the quiet intense earnestness with which, in answer to his question, "Will you live for Christ?" she said, "I will," was the means of awakening the serious thoughts of another girl in the same class, who always traced her first impressions to 'that pale girl's "I will!"'"

Lord Plunket then described the Bible which Lady Plunket had long used, and which was marked and worn and annotated in a manner which showed how earnestly it had been studied. One or two entries also in a daily text book were referred to by him, notably one where Lady Plunket had marked the words, "All

things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive," and had added the note, "Perhaps not now, but hereafter, when we have gone home." Against the text, "Be strong and work, for I am with thee," were the pathetic words, "Not very strong, but looking for His presence."

Lord Plunket then went on thus:

"I have only to add that during my dear wife's last illness she had with her the 'Presence' for which she thus looked. . . . When she partook of the Holy Communion a few days before her death she received it with the same 'joy and peace in believing' which she had always derived from that blessed ordinance. Upon the afternoon of that day I spoke to her of our happy morning's service, scarcely expecting that her memory would be able to recall it. 'Ah!' she said, 'that *is* something to look back upon!'"

It can easily be imagined how great must have been the loss to the Archbishop of one whose love was so great and whose religion was so simple and yet so vital.

Lord Plunket printed a little hymn for circulation among his friends, of which the title was "Thou wilt give back again," and in which the leading thought is his sure hope that God would restore to him his loved one hereafter. There are two stanzas in this hymn which teach a striking lesson and one that is often lost sight of in times of grief—viz., that of gratitude for the happiness already enjoyed by the goodness of God. They run thus:

"E'en were this life the end,
Had we no hope, no heav'n,
Still would my praise ascend
For joys already given.

Yes! for those bygone years
Of constant, cloudless love,
I bless Thy name, with tears—
All came from Thee above!"

A letter which the Archbishop wrote to his elder son, who had just joined the Embassy at Rome, must find a place here, for it is full of reference to Lady Plunket.

"OLD CONNAUGHT HOUSE, BRAY,
"CO. WICKLOW, IRELAND,
"*Jan.* 2, 1890.

"DEAREST WILLIE,

"I have left myself very little time to write to-day, but do not like to let any longer interval pass without sending one line to wish you every happiness and blessing in your new field of work that God can bestow. You have been continually in my thoughts since you left the old home, and my memory has been travelling back over the many happy years that have passed since I tramped through the snow to call the doctor to Pembroke Street [where the present Lord Plunket was born] some twenty-five years ago with an anxious but happy heart! All the many hopes and fears and consultations and prayers with regard to your future that your dear mother and myself shared since that day on your behalf have been very vividly brought

back; and oh! how I wish she could now see the realisation of what was, I may say, her last earthly wish. . . .

"As I said to you, however, when you left us, *her* blessing has gone with you, and her many prayers on your behalf are *following you day by day.* And perhaps she knows more about your present daily life than we suspect! I am sure you will treasure her loving counsels.

* * * * *

"And now, dear Willie, God bless you and keep you and guide you. My remaining time here will not, under any circumstances, be very long, and then I shall go to rejoin her who has gone before. God grant that all her dear ones whom she left behind may be gathered around us again in the deathless land! You will think this not a very bright letter, but I could not refrain from saying what just now is uppermost in a full heart!

"Your loving father,

"PLUNKET DUBLIN."

The other severe grief which came to Lord Plunket occurred some years afterwards—in fact, not much more than a year before his own death. This was the loss of his second daughter, Mrs. Newman, whose early death within six months of her marriage was a terrible blow to the Archbishop.

After Lady Plunket's death the Hon. Mrs. Barton, a sister of the Archbishop, came to live with him and to help to superintend his household, as his four

daughters were young, and the cares and labours of an Archbishop's house, with its vast hospitalities, were both many and great.

The years that followed were happy ones, in spite of the heavy loss sustained by the family. By far the larger portion of these years was spent at Old Connaught, where undiminished hospitality was dispensed. Reference has already been made, in the notes contributed by the Rev. Samuel Prenter, to the open-hearted way in which Lord Plunket entertained his Nonconformist friends. There is evidence also that he maintained a hearty friendship with some at least of his Roman Catholic neighbours. One of these was the well-known humourist, Father Healy (or Father James, as his intimates called him), who was priest of the parish of Little Bray, and therefore a resident in the immediate vicinity of Old Connaught. The simple, hearty, fun-loving priest was thoroughly appreciated by Lord Plunket, and he was often a guest at the Archbishop's table. Many stories are told concerning this friendship. It is said that Archbishop Walsh when he first became Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin was a good deal more of a bigot than he has since become, and was shocked to think that Father Healy should be on such excellent terms with the heretical Archbishop, and took occasion to speak his mind to the former on the subject. But it was not easy for any one—even his ecclesiastical superior—to browbeat the ready priest. "Don't say that, your Grace!" said he. "And why not?" said Dr. Walsh. "Well, now," replied Father Healy, "I have the greatest hopes of convarting him!" To any one who knew Lord

Plunket there was something intensely funny in this excuse, and Dr. Walsh, seeing the humour of it, was compelled to laugh and drop the subject.

On another occasion the two Archbishops met by chance at luncheon at Lord Powerscourt's. Archbishop Walsh was there by invitation; Lord Plunket dropped in accidentally. It was the first occasion on which the two had met on a private footing, and Dr. Walsh, with much *savoir faire*, made things easy at once. "I'm glad, your Grace," said he, "to hear a good account of you from your parish priest [Father Healy], upon whom I have made a visitation call to-day." "How is that?" said Lord Plunket. "Well," replied the other, "I happened to mention your name to him, and he said, 'I haven't a word to say against him: he's a decent gentleman—except, indeed, he doesn't pay his dues as regularly as he should!'"

There is no doubt that the humour of Father Healy and his friendship with both men helped to bring the two Archbishops nearer than they would ever have otherwise been. As a matter of fact, partly owing to this, and partly to their having a mutual respect for one another, they always got on extremely well together on the Board of Education (where they constantly met) and elsewhere. That Father Healy was on sufficiently intimate terms with Lord Plunket not to mind much what he said to him is instanced by a remark he made on the occasion of a large gathering at Old Connaught. It happened that the Archbishop's elder son had just been appointed *attaché* at Rome, and when Father James came up to shake hands with Lord Plunket, he horrified some of the elders who were standing by by

saying, "I congratulate your Grace on your son having gone over to Rome." Needless to say, the Archbishop fully enjoyed the joke.

In spite of the well-known liberal-mindedness of Lord Plunket, and in spite of the fact that among his most respected and faithful workpeople were to be found strong Papists, there was a certain section of Irishmen who could not forgive him for being a Protestant and for being sufficiently patriotic to resist Home Rule. These people were ever on the look-out for an opportunity of attacking him. The fact that he was the most peace-loving man in the whole country, and spent himself and his means in doing good, influenced them not at all.

The following instance will show the *animus* of these men. In 1885 a certain man called Michael Toole, not in Lord Plunket's regular employ, was taken on as a temporary hand during a pressure of work by the steward at Old Connaught. About a week after his engagement he, in company with at least two others in the same employ, went to Dundrum to secure his vote at the Revision Court. The others returned, but this man (who was a Nationalist) stayed away more than two days, during which it had become necessary to engage another man to do his work. On his return it was impossible to dismiss the man who had been taken on in his place, so he (Toole) had to go.

On the strength of this the Nationalist party—or some of them—made a most virulent attack on Lord Plunket. The Bray National League passed a resolution

"Condemning in the strongest terms the partisan conduct of Lord Plunket, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, in dismissing one of his workmen—Michael Toole—from his employment for attending the Revision Court in Dundrum to secure his vote, he having been objected to by the Tory party."

Now mark Lord Plunket's reply. He said:

"I have simply to say that until I saw this statement in print I had no knowledge whatever of this man's visit to a revision court, or of his so-called dismissal. This disposes at once of the charge so far as it affects myself. But, as others are concerned, I add some further particulars.

* * * * *

"My steward and herd attended at the same time, and returned after a few hours' absence to their work. Had Toole done the same he would now be, as they are, in my employment still. But unfortunately for him, whether from choice or necessity, he was absent for two days and a half. Meanwhile, work had to be done, and another man was engaged to fill the gap. When Toole at last reappeared, my steward could not have employed him again without dismissing the man who had taken his place, and as Toole had no special claims above the other, my steward did not feel called upon to do so.

"When I add that the man who was thus retained in Toole's place had attended the same revision court as Toole, and for the same purpose—*namely, the securing of a Nationalist vote*—and that he is in my employment now, the hollowness of this charge against

myself and my steward will be clear to every honest mind."

When it is also stated that this was by no means the first occasion on which the steward had had to discontinue Toole's services owing to irregularity in attendance at his work, it will be seen that a more complete answer to an absurd charge could hardly have been imagined.

But did his accusers wait to hear what might be said on the other side? Not they. With a beautiful indifference to the most ordinary spirit of fairness, the Irish National League met in Dublin and endorsed the condemnation of the Bray branch, without apparently any attempt to ascertain the real facts. That this was so is evident from the speech made on the occasion by Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., as quoted in the *Freeman's Journal* of September 23, 1885. He said, according to the extract given, that

"The Lord Archbishop of Dublin was a man with both spiritual and temporal power, and whatever the grandeur of his temporal power might be, his spiritual power might at least entitle him to act with charity. He [Mr. Healy] knew nothing of this matter further than the report of the Bray National League on Sunday last.

* * * * *

"Lord Archbishop Plunket, if this report was true, would no doubt assign some other reasons; but whether he did so or not, they could draw their own conclusions."

It is almost incredible that a responsible member of Parliament should make such a confession. He denounced Lord Plunket, and in the same breath

owned that he knew nothing of the case beyond the *ex parte* statement of the Bray National League. He also stated that practically nothing said on the other side need affect their judgment!

As usual, Lord Plunket's perfect courtesy and complete self-control made his reply a pattern of the way in which a Christian gentleman should meet even such accusers as these. "I acquit," he said, "those who brought this charge of any intentional mis-statement. But had they taken the trouble—as in justice they were bound to do—of making more careful inquiry, they would, I think, have soon learned from those who know me that I have never allowed any question of politics or religion to disturb the friendly and free and fair relations which should always exist between the employer and the employed."

As a matter of fact, Lord Plunket's relations with those in his employ were always of the most cordial nature. More than three years after his death, a gentleman who was being shown over the grounds at Old Connaught had a word or two of conversation with several of the oldest retainers on the place. One of these (a staunch Roman Catholic) could hardly restrain his tears, as with a voice broken by emotion he spoke of his undying memories of the Archbishop, while another was scarcely less moved as he described how often his old master would discuss this alteration and that plan with him, "and never a wrong word in all the years."

A former chaplain writes upon this subject:

"Servants often can realise the character of their employers

better than personal friends, and in this connection I may add the testimony of the coachman at Old Connaught, a smart little Devonshire man, who once confided to me, 'I've lived with Lord ——, and I've lived with Lord —— and Lord ——, and never lived with a "Sir" in my life, and his Grace is the first *gentleman* I ever lived with.'"

It was the same all through Lord Plunket's life. His extreme courtesy and his affectionate disposition controlled his dealings with all who came into daily contact with him from his earliest years. It will be remembered what warm relations existed between him and the old family nurse, even long after he grew up. It is quite impossible, while on this subject, to omit some description of an old retainer, still on the place, by name Jerry Sutton. With the exception of Mr. Irwin, the steward, he has probably been longer in the service of the family than any one else. He is house carpenter and general odd-job man, and was therefore consulted by the Archbishop in most of his alterations and plans about the house and grounds, and was a great favourite with him and with all the family. He was a sort of Irish Mrs. Malaprop, and the stories told of him are innumerable.

In company with Irwin, Jerry was in the habit of waiting in the passage outside the study at Old Connaught until the Archbishop could leave his correspondence and attend to them. When he at last came out, they would follow him, armed with a long line and a quantity of white pegs, Lord Plunket talking to them about some new path he was planning, and treasuring up Jerry's quaint phraseology for repetition at the dinner-table in the evening.

Jerry is a Roman Catholic and Nationalist, but this never interfered with the warm relations existing between him and his master. One of the earliest stories about him is with reference to his wife (for he is married and has a numerous progeny). Soon after his engagement Lord Plunket asked him how old his intended might be. To which he replied that he thought her about twenty-six or seven, but when he came to ask her, he found she was over thirty. Alluding to this, he said afterwards, "I often told her of the honour I put upon her when his Grace axed me."

His children he invariably called the "items." Thus he would say, "Will I send an item for some more pegs?" Once an "item" was ill, and, as there was much infectious illness about, the Archbishop asked him what was the matter. Jerry considers it a mark of respect always to speak in the third person (just as the Highlanders also do), and replied, "His Grace needn't be in any dispense about the matter. The doctor said there was nothing affectionate about the child, only a slight dislocation of the throat."

When asked how many posts a certain fence would require, he replied that "at a bird's-eye guess" it would take so-and-so.

The Archbishop's many suggested improvements he invariably described as "ideays," and when they met with his disapproval he called them "despicuous."

In speaking of his fellow servants he always used the word "subjects"; thus, women servants were in his vocabulary "famale subjects." A good instance of this occurred when certain alterations were being made in the golf-links in the park, and Jerry was

exhorted to see that the flags were not touched or removed. To this he replied, "There's not a subject on the firrm [farm ?] but takes the greatest intherest in his Grace's temporal and spiritual welfare."

He had an immense respect for the Archbishop's cleverness. "I don't understand at all, at all," he would say, "but his Grace will understand—*when he's in the dark.*"

Just one more example of his reckless use of the English language. In carrying out some alterations an old drain was discovered. Its existence puzzled the Archbishop, and Jerry was summoned to give an opinion. This he did by declaring his conviction that the drain must be "hereditary."

It can easily be imagined how greatly Lord Plunket delighted in his talks with this faithful henchman, and how often he took his guests to have a chat with such an original character.

CHAPTER XXIII

OLD CONNAUGHT

IN order to realise the private life of Lord Plunket, it is absolutely necessary to be able to picture his home at Old Connaught. To do this is not only necessary, but also delightful, for a more lovely spot it would be hard to find. The house itself, a grey, rectangular building, is perhaps more suggestive of comfort than of beauty; but its glorious position, looking away to the sea on the one side and up to purple moorlands on the other, is unsurpassed. Then the immediate surroundings are of considerable beauty. The park, of which the most is made by skilful planting—an art in which Lord Plunket took especial pleasure—and the ample lawns and gardens, are objects so charming and interesting that no visitor to Bray should fail to ask permission to see them. Inside the house there are certain things of which a short description will prove valuable. In the boudoir, which opens out of the entrance-hall, there is a picture of Lady Plunket, done in pastels, and giving a vision of a fair, blue-eyed girl of great sweetness of expression. This room is connected with the drawing-room by a conservatory, which was built by Lord Plunket himself, and in which he placed a beautiful white marble bath which he

brought from Italy. In the large and handsome dining-room—so constantly filled with guests, and at other times the scene of so many lively happy family parties—two pictures attract immediate attention. One is a really wonderful portrait of the first Lord Plunket, by Hamilton. The other is a large full-length portrait of the Archbishop in his purple coat, painted by Baroness Loudon. This picture he would not allow to be sent to the Academy. It is a most interesting and excellent work of art. It has been suggested that the Archbishop's head does not appear to be of sufficient size to be in proportion to the rest of the figure, but this may be to some extent accounted for by the difficulty experienced in all full-face portraits of representing the depth of the head—*i.e.*, of *suggesting* the proportions of the head which are hidden by the face. But the picture gives a wonderful idea of the handsome presence and tall, dignified figure of the man as he might have sat on state occasions surrounded by some of his honoured guests.

It is a quick but not altogether unpleasing change to find oneself in the Archbishop's study, which is hard by. This is a small room, with book-shelves to the ceiling set above multitudes of drawers and cupboards for the reception of the papers and pamphlets which a bishop needs to keep for reference. The open window looks straight across the park, and there is a second door leading into the secretary's room. In the centre of the study stands the large leather-topped table at which he wrote, and there still is the round red velvet chair in which he sat so often and so late—not in the purple coat of state occasions, but as often as not

in his shirtsleeves, that he might the better cope with the mass of correspondence, &c., which awaited him.

He was no smoker himself, but, with his usual consideration for others, he added a wing for his sons and their friends, with a billiard-room, &c., and in this portion of the house tobacco was allowed to hold full sway.

Outside the house everything is full of memories of the Archbishop. There are the flower-beds and paths which he designed, and the gardeners will tell of the hours he would spend with a long piece of string, showing exactly by arranging it upon the ground how he wished each turn to be made, and pointing out every detail with the point of his umbrella. It is worth noting, in passing, that he was a regular umbrella man; and whether he was met in Sackville Street or striding about his grounds at Old Connaught, he was never without his umbrella. It is a curious fact that his brother, Lord Rathmore, is commonly supposed not to possess such a thing!

The Archbishop's favourite seat was at the far end of the kitchen garden, looking right up the centre walk some hundreds of yards in length, and bordered on each side by numberless herbaceous plants. It is remarkable to notice that the excellent taste displayed by him in laying out grounds, planting, &c., had its limits, for it is impossible not to shrink from the vision of red and white brickwork, vases on brick stands, &c., with which he deformed the gardens here and there. His attention to detail was much commented upon by all in his employ. The very last

thing he built was a large fruit-house, and he examined into every particular of the work, requiring to know the exact weight of the glass used, and so on.

One or two little stories are told about his gardening and other operations. He one day sent for the gardener to explain to him some alteration he wished carried out during his absence from home. To make his idea clear he drew a plan upon a convenient brick wall with the point of his umbrella. On his return home after some weeks' absence he was not sure that exactly what he had proposed had been carried out, so he hurried to the wall to examine the plan he had drawn, when lo! he discovered that a plant of *ficus repens* had grown up and completely covered his drawing.

He built the most elaborate system of fowl-houses, and the younger members of the family used to tell him that they supposed they were all to live in them when they were evicted!

Besides his enthusiasm for landscape gardening, Lord Plunket was always fond of games when he could get the time, and many a match at croquet was played on the lawns of Old Connaught; while in the park he established a golf-course, in which latter pursuit he greatly delighted. He became, indeed, an excellent golfer for one who had taken it up so late in life, and could drive a longer ball than many a younger man.

Sir Frederick Falkiner, the Recorder of Dublin and a close friend of the Archbishop, has been good enough to contribute the following valuable information about Old Connaught:

"Old Connaught, the Archbishop's paternal home in County Dublin, is very beautifully placed. The demesne lies on the lower slopes of Shankill mountain, which rises seaward on the flank of the range of the Dublin hills where they roll from the Dublin plains to mingle with the Wicklow mountains in the south. With Shankill for its background, the sweet vale of Shanganagh spreads below to the sea, with the triple cones of Killiney in the north and the bold headland of Bray Head to the south projecting, like Mount Carmel, to form the lovely curves of Killiney Bay. The rich valley and crescent shore guarded by the half-circle of highlands well compare in likeness and in beauty with the Concha d'Oro or Golden Shell of Palermo, for Bray Head is linked to the chain of the Wicklow mountains by the purpled peaks of the lesser and greater Sugarloaves, whose intermediate slopes and glens are filled with the demesnes of Kilruddery, Charlesville, and Powerscourt, the seats of Lord Meath, of Lord Monck, and Lord Powerscourt. From these Old Connaught is separated by the Valley of Diamonds, with the stream called by Camden the riveret Bray flowing through from Powerscourt waterfall to the ocean. Shankill and Old Connaught are severed from the Dublin hills behind by the deep cleft known as the Scalp and the famous valley of Glencullen, where the Fenians rose in arms in 1866. The beauty of the scene is enhanced by the atmosphere of old romance, for though the valleys smile with modern life, cromlechs, Druids' altars, Celtic crosses, and ruins of immemorial churches are to be seen here and there by the rambler.

"It was here that Lord Plunket (the first Lord Plunket), when Attorney-General, built or rebuilt his home of Old Connaught, making it a centre of hospitality and of the highest and most cultured social gatherings of his day. Here in the August of 1825 he was visited by Sir Walter Scott, with his daughter Anne and Lockhart. Lockhart describes their visit of three days with enthusiasm, and Sir Walter's delight with his host and their excursions through the country round, and

their famous visit* to the Seven Churches of Glendalough some twenty miles away—a congenial place for the spirit of the Great Unknown, as he was then still, at least by courtesy, regarded. The climb of the party into St. Kevin's Bed is described, and the horror with which they saw Sir Walter insisting on being one of them—the first lame man, his son-in-law says, who ever faced that peril.

"Scott often afterwards spoke of Plunket's acquaintance as one of the great acquisitions he had made in his Irish visit, talking with high admiration of his acute logic and brilliant eloquence.

"This visit has ever since been a prized and bright memory at Old Connaught. Very lately the Archbishop spoke of it to the writer, telling how in the last three months of his mother's life—she died in 1885—she had recalled the day at Glendalough and all its incidents. She was staying at Old Connaught at the time, a young affianced bride, engaged to Plunket's second son, afterwards the third Lord Plunket. The Glendalough party on their return, having dined, passed into the drawing-room before sunset. Sir Walter throws his weary limbs on a sofa, but not to sleep or doze, but, probably tuned by the romance of round towers and gloomy lake and shattered arches, he struck the note of ghost stories, which one after another he poured forth in deep Scotch accents without stay or forethought in the gloaming to the very entrancement of the darkling room. The spell was momentarily interrupted when the butler opened a door carrying waxlights, but the Attorney-General starting up, with silent uplifted hands solemnly motioned the intruder back and closed the door, and the enchanter continued to pour forth his glamour till far into the night.

"Again in the presence of the writer the Archbishop retold this reminiscence to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson) when staying at Old Connaught during his triumphant and tragic visit to Ireland in the late summer of 1896. As he

* See p. 12.

told it after dinner he seemed to act it, his fine face kindled with sensitiveness of the scene. Little could it have been surmised, as the two prelates conversed that day in happy friendship, both apparently in the full vigour of their gracious, useful lives, that in one fortnight one of them, within six months both, would have become noble phantoms of the past.

"Old Connaught has high title to the epithet 'Old.' As far back as Oliver Cromwell a survey of 1664 describes it as the property of James Walsh, 'Irish Papist,' and that there is upon it a castle thatched and the *walls* of the parish church, but it was from time immemorial ecclesiastical property and part of the rentals of the Archbishop of Dublin; and it was a strange coincidence that it should have been in our days the private estate and home of our Archbishop of Dublin. The Walshes, however, notwithstanding the inquisition, held on. Perhaps Oliver was too busy to care to make reclamations for Episcopal Churchmen, but the Walshes were there until after the Treaty of Limerick in 1691, when the family abandoned it and retired to France. Their title was probably one of forcible possession, for they were a strong race and not easily displaced, and the clans of the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles in the mountains behind could always defend them from English law or parliamentary authority in Dublin. But authority was invoked in 1473 by petition of the vicars of St. Patrick's Cathedral, stating that eighty acres in the seignory of Shanganagh had been leased to Edmund Walsh, who disowned their authority and would pay no rent—a good precedent for the no-rent manifestoes which have proved not always unsuccessful title-deeds even in our modern Irish decades.

"But the Archbishop himself discovered a higher claim to antiquity than the above records afford. A few years since he constructed a new drive, chiefly for Lady Plunket's sake, who was delicate, in order that she might enjoy full carriage exercise without leaving the demesne. In its north-eastern angle, where it is nearest the sea, there is a conical knoll rising abruptly from the level, which commands a specially charming

view of land and sea, and the Archbishop wished that the new drive should wind over the top of the knoll so as to include this view. In excavating here in 1893 the workmen came upon a treasure-trove of strange and unknown ornaments, bronze, bone, and stone, pebbles and sea-shells perforated so as to form necklaces, and these amongst some human skeletons and the bones and tusks of the primæval Irish pig and remnants of goats and deer. All these were in the upper stratum of the hillock, which seemed artificial: below it is of natural formation, glacial, composed of yellow clay and water-worn boulders. There was and is no local tradition of this place or any legend to suggest its meaning, and none of the relics gave any hint of Christianity or Christian times. Lord Plunket placed himself in communication with the Royal Society of Antiquaries in Ireland, who sent to the place their veteran antiquary, Mr. Wakeman; and he made an exhaustive inquiry and search, the result of which he committed to two papers, read to the Society and published with illustrations in their *Journal* of 1894. The verdict of Mr. Wakeman was that this knoll was a pagan and prehistoric sepulchral mound of what is called the age of bronze, analogous to the great pagan cemetery of Carrowmore, near Sligo, and one found in Croan, Co. Galway, some years ago. He interprets the remnants of long-nosed pigs, goats, and deer to be relics of a great funeral feast, the precursor of the time-honoured Irish wake. In January 1894 Lord Plunket invited the Society of Antiquaries to visit the mound and compare their impressions with Mr. Wakeman's most interesting reports. Many responded, and fellows, associates, and members came to Old Connaught, where, after their researches had concluded, they were all entertained by the Archbishop in person in Old Connaught House.*

* This mound was a favourite resort of the younger members of the Plunket family. There is a glorious view from it, and partly for the sake of this and partly from a rage for excavating which prevailed among them, and was fostered by a keenly intellectual German governess, they frequently held "tea picnics" there. It was no uncommon

"Lord Plunket, if ever any bishop of the Christian Church did so, observed the apostolic injunction to be given to hospitality. It needed no St. Paul to enjoin him, for hospitality with him was a native characteristic. Everybody in his wide circle of relatives, connections, friends, acquaintances was assured of a warm Irish welcome at Old Connaught. It was his custom in Lady Plunket's time to issue for the vacation months cards of manifold invitation, naming three or four days in August and September, at intervals, when garden parties would assemble. All were invited to all of these. On these gala days crowds filled the house, the lawns, the pleasure-grounds, and gardens: every clergyman in his wide archdiocese, which comprises all the county of Dublin, North Wicklow, and nearly all Kildare, and many clergymen outside his jurisdiction were asked. The black clerical garb perhaps predominated, but this was duly diversified by the bright parasols, gay frocks, and sweet faces of the bevies of fair women wont to illumine the garden parties of Ireland. Well-spread marquees were raised to receive and refresh the moving throngs, and the host moved through all, making every one pleasant with a happy word of welcome, the generous and genial genius of the place. He often had at these gatherings the band of the Meath Boys' Industrial School, for it was a principle with him as far as possible to recognise and correlate the institutions within his archdiocese in which he took an interest; and the recognition in this way had a most salutary influence on the boys, who were proud to perform before 'the quality' in the grounds of a patron whom with good reason they knew to be their good friend.

thing at luncheon, in the summer, to hear the remark, "We are going to have a *bone-party* this afternoon." Rather an amusing incident occurred on the occasion of the visit of the Archæological Society to which Sir Frederick Falkiner refers. Lord Plunket had intended to ask them to tea, but during luncheon a long black stream was seen winding its way up the drive towards the house. There was no possibility of providing them with luncheon, and the chaplain was sent out hurriedly to head them off, direct them to the mound, and assure them that *tea* would be ready as soon as possible.

"As Lord Plunket, both when Bishop of Meath and Archbishop of Dublin, always attended the meetings of the Pan-Anglican Synod at Lambeth, he had an extensive personal acquaintance with the episcopacy of the Anglican Communion, and he always rejoiced to see in his home any of them who happened to be in Ireland, and not least those who came from far. Bishop Lightfoot of Durham visited him at Old Connaught. Bishop Perry of Iowa, Bishop Thornton of Ballarat, Bishop Potter of New York, Bishop Davies of Michigan, Bishop Whipple of Minnesota, and Bishop Tucker of Uganda were also his guests at Old Connaught, and doubtless have carried into the ranches of America and Australia and the depths of Africa kind memories of the Vale of Shanganagh and their noble brother and host.

"But the Archbishop's sympathies were not limited to the members of his own communion. An incident at Old Connaught eight years ago signally shows this. As the whole port and bearing of Lord Plunket that day were very characteristic of his personality, his attitude towards other Christian people and his fellow-countrymen at large, his ample toleration of those who differed from him, and his strong loyalty to his own —his fervid Irish patriotism and loving pride in his own island, but always in essential union with the imperial kingdom in whose greatness and inherent goodness he fervently believed—his ardent yearning towards the ideal of Christian reunion, which was then the aspiration of many noble Christian hearts, and which was ever amongst his further hopes—we venture to speak of this episode in some detail. It attracted throughout the country an appreciative notice far beyond its importance as a successful summer festival, and added another happy memory to the associations of Old Connaught which has not passed away.

"In June 1892 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, usually held in Belfast, where the headquarters are, was convened in Dublin. One of the chief incidents of the meeting was the reception of a deputation

from the Established Church of Scotland and delegates from the other Presbyterian Scottish communities. The moderator of the General Assembly of the Scotch Church headed the deputation. The proceedings of the day ended in an evening conversazione, which included several dignitaries and members of the Church of Ireland, and notably the Archbishop. The next day, June 10, there was a great garden party at Old Connaught, given by the Archbishop in honour of the members of the General Assembly and the Scottish deputies, who, with their wives, daughters, and families, were specially invited by his Grace. It was a magnificent summer's day, the beautiful surroundings shone at their best, and the *fête* was a splendid success. Six hundred guests were invited, and most of these were present. They were received at the door of Old Connaught House by the Archbishop and his sister, the Hon. Mrs. Barton. Thence they passed through the drawing-room and out into the pleasure-grounds, where the band of the Royal Munster Fusiliers was playing and where the well-stored marquees were spread. It was arranged that at five o'clock the Archbishop would receive and address a word of welcome to the members of the General Assembly and the gentlemen from Scotland in the family dining-room. At this hour there was a rush to the house. The dining-room is a large one, but it could only contain one half of the crowd who thronged to it, and the other half could only swarm before the open windows to see and listen. It was worth the strain. The Archbishop was radiant and at his best. He began by addressing all his company in words of warm welcome. It is to be remembered that the General Election and Mr. Gladstone's revival of his Home Rule Bill were then the topic of the day, and Ireland, and especially the north, was in high agitation. Turning to the Scotch guests first, he reminded them that this was not the first interchange of mutual goodwill between Scotland and Ireland, for he admitted that St. Patrick was a Scotsman, though it would require a skilful operation to knock into his head any proof that he was a Presbyterian also, and he there-

fore gladly acknowledged the obligation to Scotland of establishing Christianity in our native land through our patron saint. He went on to say: 'I think it will interest some of you here to know that the great Sir Walter Scott, the Wizard of the North, who still fascinates us all in the literature of fiction, some seventy years ago sat in this very room at my grandfather's table, an honoured guest.' Turning to the Irish General Assembly-men, he told them of a letter he had just received from a Presbyterian gentleman in Dublin, saying that, having heard in the newspapers of the invitation to the General Assembly to Old Connaught for that day, June 10, he thought it might be interesting to him—the Archbishop—to know that on June 10, 1642, the first Presbytery in connection with the Church of Scotland in Ireland was formed at Carrickfergus, and that the day at Old Connaught would therefore be the fifth jubilee of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland closing 250 years. The Archbishop then said:

"'I think it is a matter of some interest bearing on the progress of religious liberty and, I venture to hope, brotherly love amongst Christians, that this event should now be commemorated beneath the roof of an Archbishop of the Prelatic Church of Ireland. I think it is a symbol and something more of an evidence of increasing unity between those who have stood too long apart. Crossing the Channel, I go over sometimes in the *Leinster*, sometimes in the *Munster*, sometimes in the *Connaught*, sometimes in the *Ulster*; but the steamer I feel most at home in is the *Ireland*, which is the finest of them all and the safest. Well, I hope that, while we shall always be very proud of our connection with the British Empire, on the history of which Irishmen have shed some lustre in the past, whilst we are proud of

our Imperial nationality, let us never be forgetful of our Irish nationality too. We may be descended from different races — Danes, Celts, Saxons, Scots — but nevertheless we form a combined stratum of our own, and that is 'Irish' and nothing else. So I trust that this meeting between north and south is a symbol of a great principle which shall underlie all our actions, that, whether we be from north, south, east, or west, together we shall stand or fall. But this meeting is a token of a higher union—of those essential principles which underlie our common faith. It was said lately, by a writer in the north, that all Protestants in Ireland were bound together by the twofold tie of an internal affinity and a common danger. I think that puts the matter plainly and in comprehensive form. I am glad he did not speak of any enemy. I do not choose to look on any of my fellow-countrymen as an enemy. They may differ very much from us in political opinions, and we may have to fight them with courage and perseverance, but we never forget they are our fellow-countrymen, and our hearts should be bound to all who belong to the same mother-land. I have been accused of describing some of my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen as wolves.* What I did say, I believe, was that there were many Roman Catholics in Ireland who had no intention of being thrown to the wolves. I will explain. There is a venerable gentleman on the other side of the Channel [Mr. Gladstone]: he is a man of commanding ability, to whom, as Christians, we owe much for his championship of truth. I honour the man personally. I differ from

* See p. 199.

some of my friends, for I believe that he acts from the highest motives and principles. I have knelt beside him at the Communion rails; I hope to meet him in the court above; but I look upon him politically as an arch-wolf of the most accomplished type, and there are some here who have some experience of his tender mercies. Some time ago he said of our Established Church that it had gone to the dogs; yes, it had fallen into rapacious hands. What he meant by dogs I meant by wolves. All those who know me are aware I never conceal that I am an out-and-out Protestant; that I protest against what I believe, rightly or wrongly, to be error of doctrine and practice in the ritual of the Church of Rome; but I hope I have never said a word which could reasonably be considered calculated to wound the feelings of my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. Yet I must be on my guard against any who seek the downfall of things I hold most dear or to bring about that which would injure the welfare of the country which is dearest to my heart. Therefore a meeting like this, which symbolises the union that exists between Protestants of all denominations, is most important, especially when, in the presence of dangers, we intend to present a united front.'"

"The latest out-of-door gathering at Old Connaught in which the Archbishop shared was in the August of 1896, when a company of the Boys' Brigade were encamped in the grounds for ten days and nights under the command of his son, now the Hon. and Rev. Benjamin Plunket. There are none perhaps to whom, more than to the Archbishop and his son, is due the wonderful success of this institution, which in the last few years has developed into an organisation of Imperial

significance in view of the great question of national defence, as has been cordially testified by such authorities as Lord Wolseley and our Irish Field-Marshal, the Generalissimo in South Africa. The Archbishop threw himself into this movement from the beginning, recognising its great potentialities for good on high grounds both of religion and patriotism. It was a delight to him to see the Brigade boys around him, at their services, their exercises, and their games. There was an element of youthfulness in his nature which he carried with him forcibly to the end.

"The Archbishop has passed upward, Old Connaught remains; but the place that knew him cannot be said to know him no more. For his presence still lingers there in all around —in the penetralia of the home, in the gardens he loved to beautify, in the cedar grove he planted, in the golf-links where often and with no mean skill he played with his young people and with their friends and his; in the gallery of the avenue of beeches, which was to him a sacred place, for here, as he has told the writer, he was first affianced to his wife. His memory lives even in the very atmosphere, and will do so abidingly, by that subtle and mysterious chemistry which combines the memory of the good or the great with the places they had frequented during their sojourn on earth. *Semper honor nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt* is trite, but it is true and therefore appropriate of Archbishop Lord Plunket and of the Old Connaught which he loved."

Before leaving the subject of Old Connaught and its many reminiscences, one or two further matters of minor importance (except so far as they help in filling in the details of the picture) may be mentioned.

It has been said that the breakfast customs of families are always characteristic and instructive. At Old Connaught this meal was of a thoroughly informal, genial kind, excepting for one peculiarity. In most houses the family and guests drop in, as they feel in-

clined, to breakfast, but there it was the rule that *all* should assemble in the drawing-room and await the Archbishop, afterwards following him to the dining-room. Family prayers (which were of some length) were read after breakfast, and then all dispersed to their various avocations.

On Sundays it was usual for the younger members of the party to walk to Rathmichael church, about a mile and a half away, down the beautiful valley of Shanganagh. The elders, including the Archbishop, if at home, would be driven in a brougham to Crinken church, which is nearer, lying just at the foot of the hill. To this church Lord Plunket was extremely generous. The Hackett Memorial Hall (in memory of the father of the present incumbent), the costly reconstruction of the church, the satisfactory financial footing of the incumbency, were all to a large extent due to his energy, taste, and munificence. In connection with the laying out of the grounds for the Memorial Hall the Rev. T. E. Hackett remembers that the Archbishop exclaimed, "If I were not what I am, I would sooner be a landscape gardener than anything!" Sunday afternoon and evening were usually a period of rest to Lord Plunket when he could spend them at Old Connaught, and after dinner there was always hymn-singing in the drawing-room, Miss Plunket latterly taking what had been her mother's place at the piano. The Archbishop was extremely fond of hymns, and wrote a large number. His favourite on these Sunday evenings was "For all Thy saints who from their labours rest."

CHAPTER XXIV

VISIT OF ARCHBISHOP BENSON—DEATH OF LORD PLUNKET

DURING the last year of Lord Plunket's life occurred one of the most memorable events which signalised his tenure of the See of Dublin. Kildare Cathedral had been beautifully restored, and the Archbishop had given much time and attention to the completion of the work. The dedication service was fixed for the autumn of 1896, and Lord Plunket determined to try to get the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson) to be present. In this attempt he was successful, and the visit of the English Primate will long be remembered by the sister Church of Ireland.

Archbishop and Mrs. Benson, accompanied by the Rev. E. L. Ridge, domestic chaplain, arrived at Kingstown on Thursday, September 17, after a terribly rough crossing, and were driven straight to Old Connaught. The next day was spent in visiting Powerscourt, Kilruddery, and Bray, and in the evening a dinner-party was given at Old Connaught in honour of the illustrious visitors.

On the Saturday afternoon the Archbishop of Canterbury made his first public appearance in Ireland at a meeting for the restoration fund of Kildare Cathedral,

under the presidency of Lord Plunket. On this occasion Archbishop Benson had a tremendous reception—the whole vast audience standing up and cheering him again and again when he rose to speak.

That night there was a dinner-party at the house of the Provost of Trinity College, at which were present the three Archbishops (Canterbury, Armagh, and Dublin), the Bishops of Meath, Ballarat, and Glasgow, and other distinguished guests.

On the following Sunday all three Archbishops attended Christ Church Cathedral in the morning and St. Patrick's in the afternoon, at which latter service the English Primate preached to a crowded congregation on behalf of the Cathedral at Kildare.

It is touching to note that Lord Plunket, in the course of this Sunday evening, took Archbishop and Mrs. Benson to visit St. Patrick's Nurses' Home, always so specially connected in his mind with the memory of Lady Plunket.

On the Monday the Archbishop of Dublin and Miss Plunket, accompanied by their guests, dined and slept at Palmerston, the residence of the Earl of Mayo, which was to be their headquarters for the opening of Kildare Cathedral.

This function was successfully carried out on Tuesday, September 22, and Archbishop Benson preached a great sermon on "Brotherly love"—a subject which must have forcibly appealed to the heart of his brother of Dublin, whose desire to promote "fraternisation" has been mentioned more than once. Lord Plunket pronounced the benediction at the close of this service.

The remainder of Archbishop Benson's stay at Old Connaught was taken up by visits to St. Columba's College (a sister school to Radley) and to various parts of County Wicklow. Needless to say, Lord Plunket did not forget his many neighbours and friends, who were all allowed an opportunity of meeting the English Primate and Mrs. Benson at one of those charming garden parties to which allusion has already been made.

Before leaving Old Connaught Dr. Benson planted a tree in the grounds to commemorate his visit, which ended on Saturday, September 26, when Lord Plunket accompanied his guests to the Dublin station, from which they left for Armagh.

It came as a severe blow to the Archbishop of Dublin to hear that, in the course of little more than a fortnight's time, one who had so lately been his loved and honoured guest had passed away suddenly in Hawarden church.

He went over to England to attend the funeral, and it was noticed that his demeanour told of the grief he was feeling personally at the loss of the great ecclesiastic whom he had but lately learnt to know so far better than ever before.

But it was not long before he himself was called to follow his brother Archbishop to his rest. Before his last illness really began he had the joy of ordaining his younger son, the Hon. B. J. Plunket, who has ever since been labouring in a populous Dublin parish. A letter which Lod Plunket wrote to him just before the event has fortunately been preserved, and may be a help to many young men who are looking forward to the dedication of their lives to the ministry.

"NATIONAL CLUB, 1 WHITEHALL GARDENS,
"LONDON, S.W.

"DEAREST BEN,

* * * * *

"Your letter has gone straight home to your father's heart! God bless you, my dear boy, and make you a blessing to others!

"What you say as to your present misgivings does not surprise me. Believe me that this sense of utter unworthiness will only become more and more deep according as the years pass on and the responsibilities of the ministry are more clearly realised from day to day! And yet, while I sympathise with you in your disheartenment, how glad I am that you both feel your own littleness and also look to Him who can make our weakness perfect in His strength! You have indeed been much upon my heart and in my prayers of late, and increasingly so as the time for the laying on of my hands draws nigh.

"Oh! what a comfort and joy to know that we serve a Master who can be touched with the nature of our infirmities, who remembers that though the spirit is willing the flesh is often weak, and who Himself, in the hour of our need, prays for us that our faith fail not!

"Your loving Father,
"PLUNKET DUBLIN."

Early in 1897 Lord Plunket had an attack of influenza. As has been so frequently the case with others, he imagined that he was recovering more rapidly than he really was. He insisted upon getting

up too soon; some serious liver trouble was developed, and, after but three or four weeks of severe illness, he died at the Palace, Dublin, at half-past six on the morning of Thursday, April 1. During the first portion of his illness little alarm was felt, and he received visits from many friends, amongst others from Lord Dufferin, whose daughter had married the Archbishop's eldest son. But for the last few days it had been seen that there could be but one end. Lord Plunket was happy in being surrounded by those whom he knew and loved well. His doctor was Sir Philip Smyly, his brother-in-law; and his only nurse was his favourite niece, Miss Eleanor Barton, who had given herself to the work of a trained nurse some time before. Besides these he had, of course, the members of his family and household, and there could have been no jarring note of any kind in his surroundings.

It seems superfluous, and almost impertinent, to attempt to describe the Archbishop's peace of mind at the last. Such a life of personal religion as he had led, and such a bright and loving temperament as he had possessed, made it certain that for him "at eventide there should be light." And so indeed it was. When he was told by Sir Philip Smyly that his disease was incurable, he just said, "Well, Philip, I have a Father who manages all those things for me." And when at last he was informed that he was dying, his words were, "I am in my Father's hands."

It is not too much to say that the news of Lord Plunket's death sent a thrill not only through the hearts of Irish Churchmen, but of Irishmen of all denominations; and not only was the shock felt in his

own dear country, but in England, where all who knew him personally loved him, and where it may be hoped that some others who had ignorantly reviled him felt a sense of shame when they knew that he had passed away. And not alone in the British Isles, but in far-off countries where his name was a synonym for loving breadth of sympathy and Christlike charity—in America and yet more deeply in Spain and Portugal and Italy—tears were shed at the news that the world was poorer by the death of William Conynham Plunket.

The descriptions in all the Dublin papers of the funeral, which took place on the morning of Tuesday, April 6, give an idea of the hold which Lord Plunket had on the affections of high and low, rich and poor, Churchmen, Roman Catholics, and Nonconformists.

The funeral procession formed along the northern side of St. Stephen's Green, and from that point all the way to St. Patrick's Cathedral a line of constables preserved a clear passage in the centre of the streets. All the various institutions with which Lord Plunket had been connected were fully represented, the whole body of students from the Training College, with the Rev. H. Kingsmill Moore at their head, being specially prominent. No less than two hundred of the clergy over whom the Archbishop had presided walked immediately in front of the hearse, the other ecclesiastics present (not including numberless representatives of other denominations) being the Primate and the Bishops of Meath, Kilmore, Tuam, Down, Cork, Derry, and Killaloe, the Deans of Christ Church,

St. Patrick's, the Chapel Royal, Kildare, and Ossory, and numerous archdeacons, canons, and other dignitaries.

The address was given by the Primate (Dr. Alexander), whose beautiful words must be quoted here as a fitting conclusion to the story of the life of an Archbishop who was an ideal Christian gentleman, an impersonation of genial and loving saintliness, and a devoted servant of his Lord. The Primate spoke as follows:

"It is over now for him and for us. Something at least is over for him and for us—the long expectation, the weary waiting, the anxious watching for telegrams at almost every station in the country, the hopes that were excited by the tidings that the beloved Archbishop was not suffering, or that he slept quietly. And now on this solemn morning is there not through all this awful and beautiful ceremonial a voice not of this earth which says to us, 'Our friend sleepeth,' and our hearts reply to it, 'Yea, Lord, he sleepeth, and he shall do well now and for evermore.'

* * * * *

"The sorrow and the weariness and the watching and the weeping are all over now for him. What is it, then, that is not over? What is it that will never be over for us, for our children, and for our Church? What a man says is something; what a man does is more; but what a man is, that is most, and that is eternal. And now, just to begin with what is more outward, laboriousness was one great characteristic of our departed Archbishop. No one could have the privilege and the responsibility of being with him without seeing how wonderfully laborious he was, from meeting to meeting, from service to service, from journey to journey. There has been some controversy about one great work of his—his work in Spain. But at all events no one could possibly doubt this—that his knowledge of the Spanish Reformed Communion was so thorough and so personal as almost to remind one of certain

chapters in St. John's Gospel. His speeches in our General Synod were full and logical. He was most laborious in piling the fabric of his proofs, and seemed to make it a point of conscience not to leave out a brick that could be built into the wall. And he possessed a quality with which he was not always credited—I mean that of thinking a subject down to its very foundations. For instance, in connection with the Spanish work, he had to meet arguments derived from the ancient canons of the Church of Christ in a happier and more undivided condition, and the principle to which he went back was one which was deepest in the mind of early Christendom, and which came out especially in the Arian controversy—namely, that a bishop is not only the president of a diocese, but also a bishop of the universal Church, responsible for Christian truth everywhere.

"Again, think of what many will consider his greatest work—I mean the Church of Ireland Kildare Street Training College. His whole heart was in that. He has bequeathed it to the Church as a precious heritage, and it was his deep and intense conception of the national character of the Church of Ireland that led him to that great and fruitful work, and in many a distant parish the Church life is quickened through the impulse given by his hand.

"Or, again, think of his being the means of bringing Archbishop Benson over to this country. It was because, intensely national as he was, deeply as he loved our own national Church, he acted on the great principle of fraternity with the great Anglican Communion.

"Now, a second quality which I wish to mention is this—the union, and the very rare union, of intense religious conviction with a noble, a wonderful, toleration. The intensity of his conviction it was impossible to overlook in the stormy and occasionally fierce debates on revision in our General Synod. The Archbishop offered amendments largely and wisely; he spoke often; sometimes he struck hard, but I do not think that he ever struck below the belt. Both at that

time and long after—and I speak of what I know—I can safely say that, if he thought that he had ever acted unjustly or hardly or gone too far, he brought to the person whom he thought thus injured not verbal apologies, in which he did not delight, but an irresistible tenderness of manner and a chivalry of kindness, which not only forgives and forgets but honours.

"He united his intense conviction with a beautiful toleration. It is easy to be tolerant when we are latitudinarian; easy to make a present of that which we do not value. Toleration is a shabby gift when it costs us nothing. But for a man who loves his principles passionately to pause and try to understand his opponent thoroughly, to shield his adversary from the immoderate zeal of his own partisans—still more, to think over his opponent's ideas until he finds that there is an aspect of them under which they appear greatly better than at first they seemed, and thus to become able to afford them hospitality in his own soul—this is the history of good men who can say, 'Grace be with all them who love our Lord Jesus in sincerity.' I am happy to know that this loving spirit of the Archbishop has been widely appreciated. There are some ministers and members of other Christian Churches besides our own here to-day, whose presence is a tribute to him, an honour to themselves, and an honour to us. . . .

"We all miss him sorely. All who love our Church miss him, not only because of his rank and of his stately bearing and of his influence, but because he was, as is widely recognised, a true patriot. He was a true philanthropist; he was a true leader; and he takes his place—he, with that unresting activity for the work of Christ, he who at times had on his face that far-away look which some of us must have noticed, as of one whose heart was elsewhere,—he takes his own place in the long succession of that storied line of Archbishops of Dublin. We think of him with King, Magee, Whately, Trench—a noble Archbishop, a humble Christian, a man full of sympathy for sickness, sorrow, and suffering, who stopped to wash every foot that was stained with earth's dust and to

heal every foot that was stabbed with earth's thorns. His trials are over: not only those which, God knows, almost every day brings to prelates of our Church in her present condition, but others too which come to all of us, more or less, in the spelling lessons of God—and the hardest words often come last. God's puzzled children sometimes cry themselves to sleep. But yet they are sure that all the lesson will range itself in due order, and that all will come right to them when the day breaks and light streams through the shutters of the grave. And what shall it be for such as he who lies in that coffin? What shall it be for him and for all the children of God, and for us if we be like him in spirit?

* * * * *

"What shall it be when the tears of pain, of sorrow, of suffering, and trial shall melt away, as sometimes after the thunderstorm in the Alps the last lines of the tempest are softened into the tender depths of the silver distance!"

The Archbishop's body was then laid to rest in the cemetery at Mount Jerome beside that of Lady Plunket. While this last ceremony was being performed the students of the Training College sang the hymn, "For ever with the Lord." To these words all who knew him in life, and some perhaps who have learnt to know him, however dimly, in these pages, will with reverent affection say "Amen."

It is impossible to quote the numberless sermons, letters, and speeches which were called forth by Lord Plunket's death. The striking quality in all of them was their evident sincerity. Each speaker or writer was as much in earnest about him as if he had been a near relation. Such was the effect produced by his own sincerity and his own loving-kindness.

One or two letters of more than common interest are given here:

[*From the Primate of Ireland (Dr. Alexander) to the Rev. the Hon. B. J. Plunket.*]

"ST. PETER'S, DROGHEDA,
"*April* 1, 1897.

"MY DEAR MR. PLUNKET,

"It is no exaggeration to say that Ireland is full of sorrow. Everywhere through this diocese people are mourning as for a father and friend. On and since Friday last I have had prayers in every church which I have visited on his behalf: everywhere intense feeling and earnestness was manifested.

"The Church of Ireland has lost a saintly ruler. As I think of your father's unselfish and constant work, of his loving soul and devotion to his flock, I realise the terrible blank which his removal leaves in our ranks. For *him* we can but feel the fulness of peaceful hope. He sleeps in Jesus, and is delivered from the burden of the flesh. May we follow his faith, considering the end of his conversation! May his dear ones find comfort! With true sympathy,

"Yours, my dear Mr. Plunket, truly in Christ,
"WILLIAM ARMAGH."

In a letter from Dr. Welldon (Bishop of Calcutta) to the same there occurs the following passage:

"Without trying to praise him [Lord Plunket]—for he has risen above all human praise—may I just mention the qualities which greatly impressed me in him: His simplicity, his consistency, his courage, his strong sense of duty, his courtesy, and his never-failing piety? May you be like him!"

Most touching of all was a letter received from a Dublin curate, from which the following is an extract:

"I assure you that I think all the clergy loved the Archbishop. There are different things which strike different minds, but I never can forget how one night he took the chair at a Y.M.C.A. meeting, and when we had proposed the usual vote of thanks he just smiled in reply and said, 'God bless you all,' not a word more before he gave the benediction; but I felt that his Grace's short informal blessing was so full of real affection for us all that it was worth the whole meeting. It was like our Lord, just loving people because they were human beings, independently of rank, position, or anything else. It made me know how noble and loving the Archbishop was. . . .

"What a lesson we shall always have in his life . . . his wonderful courage and perseverance . . . the courtesy with which he bore all opposition, and the splendidly straight and fair way in which he entered into any controversy. It was all chivalrous and grand. . . .

"I do trust your loss may be lightened by the thought of the thousands who are sorrowing with you and for you, and of how everybody admires the great and glorious life and work of the Archbishop."

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